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Russia Agrees to OSCE's Call for Chechnya Cease-Fire

AU0302164295 Paris AFP in English 1620 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Feb 3 (AFP)—Russia agreed Friday [3 February] to a call by the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe for an urgent ceasefire in Chechnya.

Its delegation to the permanent council of the Vienna-based 53- member OCSE (formerly the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) accepted a programme for future action in Chechnya and backed a council document underlining that an "immediate ceasefire in Groznyy was urgently needed to prevent an imminent humanitarian catastrophe."

Moscow's acceptance of the document, submitted by the Hungarian presidency, was described as "unhoped for" by Western diplomatic sources. Furthermore, they said, the Russians were in effect subscribing to the council's "major concern over the disproportionate use of force by the Russian army."

However, the political sources said that the Russian move was a political undertaking without any legally binding force, under the terms of the organization's decision-making mechanism.

On Thursday the delegation had refused to accept the document, waiting instead for instructions from Moscow.

The council, made up ambassadors of member states, also called for "a rapid start to the political process with a view to a lasting solution of differences on the base of the principles of the OCSE, in particular free elections."

The organization was ready to offer its cooperation and help, the document said. A peaceful settlement of the conflict had to be reached which respected the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and its constitution.

The council also wants further visits to be made to Chechnya by the presidency's special representative, the Hungarian ambassador Istvan Gyarmati, who led a five-person delegation to Moscow and Chechnya last week.

Fact-finding missions and groups of experts from the organization's office of democratic institutions and human rights would also be sent to to the area at a date to be decided.

For the first time a statement by the OSCE emphasized the importance of "bringing to justice all those responsible for violations of individuals' human rights."

The organization again condemned "serious human rights violations before and after the eruption of the present crisis."

It called for the supply "without obstacles" of humanitarian aid to all the civilians affected and called on the international community and in particular those states belonging to the OCSE to provide help on a huge scale to the Caucasus region affected by the fighting.

Kozyrev Meets With Russian Muslim Head on Chechnya

MK0302082595 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 1

[SEGODNYA report: "Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Pays Special Attention to Muslim World's Opinion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Andrey Kozyrev has met with Mr. Gaynutdin, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Russian Federation Central European Muslims; and Mr. Znined, ambassador of Morocco, representing the country that chairs the Islamic Conference Organization. The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry head assured them that the war in Chechnya does not have religion as the underlying basis and is a purely political conflict. Agreeing with him, Mufti Gaynutdin came forward with an initiative to declare a truce for the duration of the sacred month of Ramadan that began the day before yesterday.

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 4 Feb

LD0402072695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0555 GMT 4 Feb 95

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 4 TASS—The ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper features a series of materials on the Chechen events in two pages under the general heading "Chechen Crisis in Politics, Law, Economics, Culture and Testimonies of Eye-Witnesses".

The main idea of materials is expressed in the headline of one of the articles: "Federal Authorities Had All Grounds for Actions to Restore Constitutional Legality". "Already in 1992, Chechnya turned into a major centre in the former Soviet Union for counterfeiting cash and financial documents. All this trash was channelled to Russia," the newspaper writes.

"Even a more dangerous thing: Chechnya turned into a transshipping base for smuggled goods, including arms and drugs." In the daily's opinion, Dudayev's regime was also a great threat for European security, since "General Dudayev repeatedly threatened to use mass destruction weapons against Russian cities".

Therefore, "taking into account the fact that Dudayev pointed to Russian nuclear power stations among objects for terrorist acts, it is understandable that this also meant a nuclear threat to all Europe".

At the same time, the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper claims that "Chechnya has now less grounds than ever to regard itself a part of Russia, following the first stage of 'restoration of constitutional order' in that member of the Russian Federation."

The newspaper explains this claim by growing preference the Russian Army gives to artillery attacks and shelling. In the opinion of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, artillery attacks often hit living houses, burning down all belongings of villagers.

The ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA newspaper carries an interview with Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Central Electoral Commission, who expresses conviction that the operating Russian Constitution does not permit to shift the time of elections of supreme bodies of power.

"The shifting of the time of elections will violate the Russian Constitution," Ryabov flatly states. Speaking of elections to the bodies of authority in the Chechen republic, Ryabov notes that they "will crown an important stage in overcoming the crisis caused by the Dudayev regime.

"The very fact of their holding will mean the end to this regime." however, the chairman writes, "Chechens themselves should draft normative acts for Chechnya rather than Moscow and the Central Electoral Commission". The commission will only provide adequate organisational, methodological and financial assistance.

The IZVESTIYA newspaper notes in an article dealing with the coming withdrawal of the 14th Russian Army from the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic (which seeks independence from Moldova and which is populated mostly by ethnic Russians and Ukrainians) that the withdrawal may cause considerable difficulties of political nature.

The daily quotes the opinion of Igor Smirnov, head of the Dniester administration, who deadly opposes the withdrawal of the 14th Army.

Smirnov is echoed by Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Army, whom the newspaper quotes as saying that "to speak about the withdrawal of the remaining part of the 14th Army from the territory where Moldovan laws are inoperable, is the same as to carry furniture out of neighbour's house".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes about prospects for electing the last member of the Constitutional Court by the upper chamber of the Russian parliament and the present situation at the court. The newspaper writes that if the Constitutional Court starts operations, its impartiality and an independent position will depend, above all, on who will be chairman of the court.

In the daily's opinion, an election of present acting Chairman Nikolay Vitruk to this post would mean an actual split of the court.

Many newspapers comment on the assassination of Sergey Skorochkin, member of the Russian parliament lower chamber.

Reminding its readers of previous incidents with the lawmaker, during one of which he had shot two people, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA expresses opinion that Skorochkin, refusing to cooperate with investigative authorities, knew who were his antagonists and "foresaw his doomsday".

The RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper claims, referring to an officer of the Federal Counterintelligence Service who did not want to be identified, that the assassination is of purely criminal and not political nature.

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U.S. Envoy's Offer To Broker Talks With Ukraine Unwelcome

MM0302210395 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Feb 95 First Edition p 6

[Article by Mikhail Shchipanov: "Getting Through to Kiev. Albeit by Way of Washington. The Americans Are Not Abandoning Hope of Attaching the CIS States Directly to Themselves"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It sometimes seems that the Americans, following the example of President Theodore Roosevelt, want to be the bride at every CIS wedding and accordingly the deceased at every funeral. In the past we have had cause to write about Washington's strange love for the members of the CIS to whom it wants to cozy up one at a time. From that great distance the CIS still does not look like a constructive entity worthy of being called an international organization and thus at best the brokers in stars and stripes prefer to deal with individual pairs of countries while thinking that a third would be quite handy too.

In fact the yankees are openly outlining for themselves the role of brokers in the far from simple relations of the post-Soviet countries, creating a kind of holding company, a system of ubiquitous political involvement. Meanwhile, the distinguishing feature of the way in which they are trying to attain their goal is an exceptional stinginess beloved of Congress because in the new situation requests for advice from the transatlantic partners seem to be overshadowing the past promises of substantial economic aid.

The latest example comes from information provided by INTERFAX that the United States is making tremendous efforts to reserve for itself the broker's function in the matter of settling Ukraine's debt to Russia.

According to the available information, Thomas Pickering, the U.S. ambassador to Russia, has already sent our leadership a memorandum exuding a passion for this kind of brokerage. Not from selfish motives but solely because it is what Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma wants.

So, what is the problem? Did Russia not propose long ago a simple scheme for the settlement of accounts with Ukraine, which has had no particular hangups about admitting that it is a bankrupt state. The point of this plan is that Western aid, a marketable quantity of which was promised to Kiev long ago, would have been used to settle Ukraine's snowballing debt for energy resources. In that situation U.S. brokerage would only have been welcome.

However, all recent alumni of the Soviet Union have already seen for themselves that the West does not like to part with its money and that if it does give the CIS countries credits it prefers them to be tied. In that way the money does not actually leave the creditor countries' hands. For some reason no one wants to help Ukraine settle its bills for oil and gas, as good partners should.

But it is a different matter when it comes to taking the place of honor at the negotiating table, conferring the right to exert a certain political pressure on Russia, which is still Ukraine's biggest creditor and whose contribution to the success of the Ukrainian reforms is consequently not confined to words alone. As a commentary on this situation one well-known truth comes to kind: We don't need advice, we need material help. However, if Kiev appeals to Washington to act as broker all it can expect is advice.

Recently, by the way, the Ukrainian authorities again promised to settle their gas debt to Turkmenia. The previous promises were not kept. On this occasion, however, there was no question of asking for U.S. brokerage. The conclusion is simple: Someone in Kiev is hoping to complicate a simple economic problem with familiar political "potions" ["primochki"]. Quite deliberately the Ukrainian parliament creates one commission after another to examine the agreements on the so-called "zero option" whereby Ukraine renounces part of the former USSR's overseas assets and at the same time transfers to Russia part of its foreign debt inherited from the USSR. Everyone is looking for some hidden Russian profit. With this approach casual observers might get the impression that Ukraine simply does not want to pay because it does not want to pander to "Russia's imperial ambitions" (they have acquired the habit of demanding money!) and it is simply summoning the Americans as witnesses.

As for the Americans, the more they have the more they want. On the eve of Moldovan President Snegur's visit to the United States, M. Pendleton, the U.S. ambassador in Chisinau, bluntly stated that her country would like to "cooperate" with the interested parties in resolving the question of the withdrawal of the Russian military hardware from the Dniester region.

In fact soon there will not be a single problem causing any perceptible friction in relations within the CIS which the kind Americans do not want to become involved in resolving. Although unlike Latin America, it would seem, the CIS is not trying to become an American "backyard." Furthermore, even in the zone of "traditional American influence" they prefer to settle conflicts with the mediation of the United Nations best of all.

The aim of all the aforementioned maneuvers is as clear as day: It is to demonstrate yet again the limitations of the CIS political mechanism. Evidently in Almaty the heads of the newly independent states could work out what is really going on in this sphere.

U.S. Issues Visa to Chechen 'Advocate of Terror'

MM0602094195 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Simonov, RIA-NOVOSTI political observer, "specially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "A Visa for the Devil's Advocate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For some time now the United States has been like the many-handed god Shiva. While

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the uppermost hands are engaged in combating global terrorism, one nimble and dexterous hand is outstretched in hospitality to welcome the envoy of a terrorist regime.

Washington's inconsistency is indeed shocking. As is well known, President Clinton has just issued a directive obliging 500 U.S. banks to freeze the assets of more than 10 organizations and certain private individuals involved in terrorist acts. A draft law is about to be presented to congress aimed at strengthening America's potential for combating international terrorism.

Yet at this very time when a new attack is being mounted against global evil the U.S Administration has shown an amazing generosity toward it by issuing an entry visa to one Shamseddin Yusef, the "foreign minister of Chechnya," who has thus been given an opportunity, as he admits, to create a pro-Dudayev lobby "of prominent Americans," enlist pledges of support for the illegal separatist regime, and sound out the prospects of recruiting volunteers.

When entering the visa in Mr. Yusef's passport, the U.S. State Department could not have missed the corpse-like stench of terrorism. The same extremist Islamic organizations whose killers are fighting in Chechnya—Hamas, for example—are also on President Clinton's blacklist to have their bank accounts frozen.

When the State Department cordially opened America's doors wide to Shamseddin Yusef, it must have had on its desk a Radio Liberty report containing the transcript of an intercepted telephone conversation between Dudayev and a leader of the Azerbaijani opposition. It contains the following interesting passage. Dudayev: "Satan's center spares no one. The late 20th century Carthage must be destroyed. Russia...must be destroyed by everyone acting together. No matter which part of the globe you are in, the young, the Caucasians are instructed to inflict the maximum damage on Russia and the present Russian regime."

Incidentally, the term "Satan's center" used by Dudayev is easily recognizable as a fundamentalist phrase: The whole Christian bourgeois world is the great Satan. Those were roughly the parting words that 'Umar 'Abd-al Rahman, the "blind shaykh," used, it seems, to bless his gunmen who tried to blow up the World Trade Center in New York on 26 February 1993.

The ideology of fundamentalist terror is the same throughout the world. However, judging by the issue of a U.S. visa to its advocate, Washington regards this ideology as a world evil when its adherents are firing at Americans but as something worthy of civilized treatment when they are killing Russian soldiers in Chechnya.

In this sense the comment by State Department spokesman Christine Shelley that Mr. Yusef is simply a "Russian citizen paying a private visit to the United States" seems hypocritical. This private citizen was received so swiftly by Steven Coffey, a high-ranking official of the State Department's Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, and treated to such a respectful conversation in congress that you get the impression that in Washington's eyes the Chechen advocate of terror is someone with which they can do business.

Radio Moscow Views U.S.-China Disputes Over Rights, Trade

OW0502071395 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Feb 95

[Unattributed commentary from the "Current Events and Commentary" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Reports from Washington and Beijing indicate that Sino-U.S. relations are getting more complicated. On Thursday [2 February], a spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry officially responded to a report issued by the Human Rights Commission of the U.S. State Department. The Chinese diplomat termed the report's criticism of conditions in the arena of China's human rights as gross interference in China's internal affairs. A station observer has the following comments:

The U.S. human rights report holds that there was no significant improvement in the protection of human rights in China during 1994. The report asserted, for example, that China continued to—in violation of the norms of international conventions and dispensing with court proceedings—persecute people out of political and other motives in 1994. The U.S. State Department report also pointed out that dissidents were sent to mental institutions against their will and torture was used in Chinese prisons to extort confessions.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that China is resolutely opposed to such interference in other countries' internal affairs based on the pretext of human rights. He also said that he believed that the author of the U.S. report intentionally ignored the efforts China made and the actions it took in 1994 in protecting the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese citizens. In short, the discord between China and the United States over human rights has noticeably intensified again after a short respite. It is certainly not an academic dispute over a given subject; it is rather an undiluted political battle.

Under these circumstances, the substance of the issue does not matter that much. The mentality of clever opportunism on both sides and diametrically opposed interests over the issue of human rights are what matters. According to a REUTERS report from Washington, U.S. President Clinton threw his support behind and defended the State Department report that severely criticizes China's stand and policy on human rights. He refuted China's protest and rebuttal by straitforwardly indicating his support for the criticisms and conclusions contained in the State Department report.

The report was released on the eve of Washington's announcement of stiff trade sanctions against China. Observers are inclined to look on this fact as part of an overall package and not mere coincidence. Most foreign

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analysts believe that trade frictions—certainly not human rights—make up the cornerstone of the impediment in Sino-U.S. relations. China has responded, without any hesitation, with its counter-retaliatory measures to the U.S. announcement on trade sanctions. Who will emerge as the winner in this trade war? Both sides know that the answer to this question has very little to do with the issue of human rights in China.

The station observer concludes: Judging from information from China, Washington, which has started up the machine of trade sanctions, will have to reap the result of its misdeeds. It is, however, impossible to predict what the results will be.

RSA Senate Delegation Arrives 4 Feb

LD0402213695 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Feb 95

[Video report by A. Dubnov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Republic of South Africa [RSA] Senate delegation arrived in Moscow today on an official visit. Last year, Vladimir Shumeyko, chairman of the Federation Council, visited the RSA. The visit to Russia is reciprocal. The delegation is led by RSA Senate President Kobie Coetsee.

During its stay in Moscow the delegation is expected to meet with the heads of both chambers of the Federal Assembly and also with top government ministers.

The main aim of the visit is to improve interparliamentary relations and to discuss some aspects of economic cooperation. On Tuesday, 7 February, Kobie Coetsee will address the Federation Council.

[V. Viktorov, deputy chairman of Federation Council; identified by caption] It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this visit because for many decades we simply artificially did not maintain any relations with this country, one of the richest and most promising countries in the world.

Russian, Kazakh Customs Agreement Reached

MM0302142595 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 1

[Report by correspondent Dmitriy Gutenev: "Boundary Can Be Worse than a Knife"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Omsk—As has already been reported, a routine meeting of government delegations from Russia and Kazakhstan was held in Omsk at which there was a discussion of questions of cooperation between the two states' border territories. It was quite modest. Compared with the meeting held two years ago it is simply going nowhere. Either in terms of the number of documents signed nor in terms of the composition and numbers of those taking part, nor in terms of the ostentation of the reception, which on the previous occasion was crowned with a lavish buffet for many people and a luxurious banquet at Kolchak's house for guests of higher rank.

This year, I repeat, it was somewhat different. The delegations were headed not by premiers but by their deputies, and not first deputies at that. The territories were represented mainly by the heads of administrations or just by their deputies. And only one agreement was signed calling for closer joint work. The euphoria over the importance and effectiveness of such meetings is evaporating. There is a growing awareness that cooperation is measured not by the number of documents signed but by specific work. Not even a communique was adopted since the draft for the communique abounded in general appeals.

"We can assure each other as much as we like of our desire to be friends," said L. Korshunov head of the Altay Kray Administration. "But when the delivery of freight from Rubtsovsk to Lokot (50 km) costs more than from Omsk to Rubtsovsk (1,000 km) because different roads are involved, one being Kazakh, the other Russian, you cannot help interpreting these assurances rather differently.

V. Tursunbayev, head of the Kustanay Oblast Administration, is in solidarity with him:

"Yes, words today are not enough. There are many lavish fairs in which it is mostly foreign firms that take part. And if our firms do get in and conclude deals then so many complications later arise with regard to financial settlements that it is easier not do do it."

Of course, the border region lives its own special life and by various means overcomes the barriers erected by those who live in he capital. But working is difficult. That is why the participants in the meeting pin great hopes on the agreement on a customs union created by Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia.

Of course, the decision on this union was not reached easily. It was three years ago that the leaders of the customs services suggested its creation and the introduction of benefits for its members to the head of state. But intoxicated with the process of sovereignization the heads of the CIS states did not heed them. Everyone has lost out. Now, after regaining insight and after hard work (the rapprochement of legislations, according to A. Semin, administration chief at the Russian Ministry for Foreign Economic Affairs, has been underway for 18 months with Belarus and 10 months with Kazakhstan and will take a further six months), the union has been created. The goods produced on the territories of these countries will move about without duty being charged. Duty on goods produced in third countries will be retained and will become standardized.

Recently Kazakhstan unilaterally removed customs posts from the Russian border and is thus stepping up customs control on the border with other neighbors. Russia is keeping its posts for the time being in order to avoid finding itself with open borders, as happened three years

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ago when imported goods crossed the borders within a simplified procedure and all states lost a lot as a result. They calculate that this union will ensure the stability of investments in the national budgets and retain the controllability of foreign trade and the general procedure which would be protect against re-export. And of course, it legalizes relations between adjacent territories.

"The time has come for us, the administration heads, on the basis of the documents signed by our presidents, to switch to systematic work not only to resolve individual economic problems but also to implement important projects," Omsk Administration Head L. Polezhayev urged his colleagues.

Incidentally, if only by virtue of its energy dependence on Ekibastuz coal, Omsk has long preached such a policy. The accords of January 1993 have not been fully implemented because questions of coordinating the two sides' actions were not resolved. No center was created to which all information could flow and where there would be an operational examination of all technical and organizational elements. At the time an association was suggested. But at the routine meeting in Omsk in May of the same year the idea of forming such an association was rejected. And the divisions were not along the border line. In one camp were the practical economists, in the other the politicians. The official story came down to differences in the legal statuses of the oblasts—Kazakhstan's constitution does not give oblasts the right to enter into foreign economic ties independently. Virtually all the interests of the border regions' population were sacrificed to the interests of big-league politics. Over 18 months were needed for a rethinking of positions and for mutual relations between the center and the regions to change. And now the participants in the meeting have created a consultative council which will prepare and work up the fundamental guidelines for trade and economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation between adjacent territories of Russia and Kazakhstan on a mutually advantageous basis. It has been joined by the heads of the two countries' border region administrations. I. Polezhayev and B. Tursunbayev have been elected cochairmen.

Time will show whether the consultative council will become another organ for ostentation only or a working organ.

Davydov on Customs Union

LD0302150695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 3 (Interfax)—A customs union of Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan will be patterned on Russia's custom legislation. The three countries' prime ministers signed a memorandum to this effect last week, Oleg Davydov, a Russian deputy prime minister in charge of the foreign economic ties department told Interfax Thursday.

He also reported that the three sides had agreed to base their alliance on the export-import tariff scheme operational in Russia. "Further on, new tariff regulation and other laws will be adopted through an agreement, taking mutual interests into account," Davydov said.

He refuted rumors that the import tariffs on goods of mass demand would be hiked. "There have been no directives from the government to this effect," he stressed. "On the contrary, Russia's government has endorsed a plan to lower import tariffs stage by stage over 10 years." In the first stage, as Davydov revealed, import duties, exceeding 30 percent of a commodity's cost, will be slashed.

In regard to the export tariff on oil, he claimed that the current import duty of 23 ECU would not be changed in the first quarter of this year. However, as he disclosed, "the government is discussing the question of cutting the export tariff on oil at the end of the winter period." As Davydov explained, "the interests of producers who regard the current rate too high are taken into account."

Abkhazia on 'Verge of Starvation' Since Border Closure

LD0402182895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1756 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sochi February 4 TASS—Cargoes have been piling up in the Russian resort city of Sochi on the Black Sea since Russia closed its border with Abkhazia at the end of 1994 following the outbreak of violence in Chechnya.

Among them are 16 freight cars of flour and two tanks of petrol which have been bought by Abkhazia from Tatarstan to feed and warm its population.

The closure of the border has virtually put Abkhazia on the verge of starvation.

Olga Moiseyeva, head of the Sochi city Red Cross committee, has spent the last 18 weeks by sending appeals to the Russian customs committee, the Federal Border Service, the Ministry of Railways and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, asking them to allow the flour and petrol to go to Abkhazia, but with little success.

"This week rekindled the hope that the problem may be resolved very soon. Sochi border guards told me that the leaders of the Federal Border Service had ordered them to let the cargoes through. However, head of the Adler railway station, Ararat Delyan, said that he had not received any orders from his ministry," Moiseyeva told ITAR-TASS on Saturday.

She said that while the issue is being discussed in the secretariat of the Russian Government, despair and the fear of starvation sweep Abkhazia.

Davydov, Delegation Arrive in Belgrade

LD0502113495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1049 GMT 5 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Aleksandr Kondrashov]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade February 5 TASS—A Russian Government delegation, led by Oleg Davydov, vice-premier and minister for foreign economic relations, arrived here on Sunday for a three-day working visit. Immediately upon arriving, the delegation began talks with Yugoslav and Serbian Government members.

Every country is free to choose its attitude to the sanctions against Yugoslavia. If they are of anti-humane character, they should be lifted, Davydov told ITAR-TASS in response to a quesiton as to whether Russia intends unilatereally to lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

"I regard relations between Russia and Yugoslavia as those between two fraternal peoples," Davydov added.

Representatives from Russian ministries and departments intend to hold all-round talks with their Yugoslav partners with a view to preparing for the resumption of traditional trade-and-economic cooperation. Davydov said. "We want, in particular, to sign an agreement on a stage-by-stage increase in the delivery of Russian natural gas to the union republic of Yugoslavia up to 7,200 million cubic metres by the year 2010," he pointed out.

The Russian delegation is also to discuss draft bilateral agreements concerning the protection of mutual capital investments and prevention of double taxation, and prospects for cooperation in engineering, metallurgy, the power industry, and agriculture.

Russia, Bosnia Raise Diplomatic Relations to Official Level

LD0302180595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1620 GMT 3 Feb 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 3 (Interfax)—Russia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have decided "to raise their relations to an official level," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said on Friday after talks with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic.

"The level of relations will be raised by exchanging notes, which effectively will be tantamount to an agreement to exchange official representatives," Kozyrev said.

"That is an important and natural step on the road towards establishing full-scale diplomatic relations between the Russian Federation and Bosnia-Herzegovina," he said.

Silajdzic, for his part, described the decision as "a very important event" for Bosnia.

He also called for a political solution to the conflict in Chechnya. "It is important to prevent the dissatisfaction accumulated in the Muslim world from being directed against Russia," said Silajdzic, a Bosnian Muslim leader.

"The Chechen issue is a very sensitive one for the entire Islamic world," while Russia's relations with the Muslim world are important for the entire international community, he said.

Kozyrev said he and Silajdzic had agreed that what is happening in Chechnya is not a religious confrontation and that the conflict "must be settled by nonviolent, political means on the basis of the Constitution of the Russian Federation."

"No divergences from or compromises on the peace plan of the Contact Group are acceptable," said Kozyrev, going over to the Bosnian issue.

He said it was essential to use the three months that remain until the temporary cease-fire expires on April 30 to work out a settlement, primarily to have the Bosnian Serbs accept the Contact Group plan, a goal that calls for the use of "all means and instruments of positive and negative influence that the international community and the U.N. Security Council have at their disposal."

The minister said he had a telephone call on Thursday evening from U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who gave his impressions" from a conversation he had had with Silajdzic in Washington before the Bosnian premier came to Russia.

Moscow "attaches special importance" to taking joint action with, and sticking to largely the same principles as, the United States and the other Contact Group members—"the unity of the Contact Group is from our point of view the key element of positive influence on the situation in Bosnia," Kozyrev said.

Silajdzic expressed the hope that the time remaining until April 30 "will be used to do what has to be done to prevent new bloodshed in Bosnia in the spring, for that may lead to the expansion of the conflict to the entire region."

"An important role in that matter belongs to Russia," he added.

He reaffirmed that the Bosnian leadership adhered to the Contact Group plan, which "cannot be altered."

"Everybody, including Belgrade, accepts the plan of the Contact Group. And many of the Bosnian Serbs too stand for peace based on that plan," he said.

He denied reports that Bosnian government troops over the past month have violated the cease-fire more often that the Serbs. "Quite often such misinformation comes from Belgrade," he said.

"Clashes occur only in the area around Bihac, whereas in the rest of Bosnia the truce has on the whole been observed," he continued. "As for the blockade of Tuzla airport, that has been done by the local population, who cannot accept the fact that the U.N. forces there include a Serb officer who some time ago directed the bombing of the town."

The prime minister objected to "the Contact Group being replaced by any other mediators." "The Contact Group must be given all powers it needs to complete its work," he said.

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"I'm soon going to meet in Munich the rest of the Contact Group members," Silajdzic said.

As for a proposed international conference on Bosnia, he argued that it would make sense if its only purpose were to have the Contact Group plan "ratified by all the parties." He said there had already been such a meeting in London but it "produced no results."

Kozyrev said such a conference had been suggested several days ago by French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe in a telephone conversation with his Russian counterpart.

This and other proposals made by "various politicians and statesmen" should be seen as "efforts to find answers to the question of how to stimulate the peace process in Bosnia in the remaining three months."

"All those ideas and proposals will actually be discussed within the Contact Group with the participation of the parties to the conflict. It is only there that joint decisions will be made," he said.

Kozyrev, Silajdzic Reach Understanding on Relations

LD0302134495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1229 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Valeriy Sevryukov and Andrey Urban]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—Official relations between Russia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are to be established at diplomatic missions' level. An understanding to this effect was reached during talks between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic here on Friday.

In the opinion of the two sides, this event will become a new important step towards full-scale official interstate relations.

"The Russian Federation, ever since it recognised Bosnia-Herzegovina on April 27, 1992, has been firmly coming out in favour of the territorial integrity and equality of this republic, just as those of the other states which emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia," Kozyrev pointed out.

Haris Silajdzic believes that the commitment to the principle of the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Bosnia- Herzegovina, which was reaffirmed by the Russian side on Friday, is "a solid foundation for the development of goodneighbourly relations between the two states."

The Bosnian leader referred to the understanding on the establishment of official interstate relations as a "very important event" to his country.

Kozyrev: Talks With Silajdzic Confirm Bosnian Peace Plan

LD0302161695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1553 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Valeriy Sevryukov and Andrey Urban]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina Haris Silajdzic confirmed the adherence to the peace plan for former Yugoslavia offered by the Contact Group, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said here today upon the completion of his negotiations with the Bosnian premier.

"Russia is convinced of inadmissibility of any deviations or compromises as regards the plan. It is very important to efficiently use the cease-fire agreement reached a month ago, and achieve political settlement, primarily the Bosnian Serb acceptance of the Contact Group's plan, within the three months," said Kozyrev. In his words, this goal must be achieved by all positive and negative levers possessed by the international community and the United Nations Security Council.

Kozyrev noted that Russia attaches special importance to the unity of actions and similarity of approaches in settlement of the Bosnian crisis on the part of the United States and other members of the Contact Group. "We believe that unity of the Contact Group is the key aspect of efficient influence on the situation," he stressed.

In his turn, Silajdzic said that both sides consider it inadmissible to change the group's plan. He hopes that the Russian government will play an important role in settlement of the Bosnian crisis, bearing in mind the Russian Federation remains an important factor of international politics.

Silajdzic is planning to meet other members of the Contact Group in the near future. It is no secret that many Bosnian Serbs want peace on the basis of the group's plan, he noted. The conflict may spread on the whole region if the plan is not accepted, said Silajdzic.

Speaking of the initiative of French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe to hold a new summit peace conference for Yugoslav settlement, Kozyrev noted that the French proposal does not call into question the group's plan but, on the contrary, attaches the key role to it.

"We have discussed this initiative both with France and other members of the Contact Group. The negotiations also considered the whole range of possible approaches and new ideas of Bosnian settlement. In other words, I would suggest to treat these initiatives as efforts to encourage peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina within three months on condition all of them are discussed within the framework of the Contact Group with participation of the conflicting sides and only the Contact Group adopts joint decisions," said Kozyrev.

The Bosnian Government head stated efforts to hold such meetings. However, proposals to the effect, including the recent London conference, have not been fruitful. A new international conference will be expedient only if it results in signing of the peace plan of the Contact Group by all forum participants, said Silajdzic. The Contact Group should enjoy all powers to complete its job, all the rest would be a waste of time, he added.

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Dolgolaptev: Border Pact With China 'Must Be Reconsidered'

LD0302133695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VLADIVOSTOK, Feb 3 (Interfax-Eurasia)—The Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federation Council Anatoliy Dolgolaptev feels that the Soviet-Chinese agreement on the Soviet Union's eastern border must be reconsidered.

Talking to journalists Friday before leaving Vladivostok (Primorskiy territory, Russian Far East), Dolgolaptev said that "at least the Khasan part" of the agreement ought to be declared null and void.

The agreement was signed in 1991. It provides for the handover of part of the Russian Far East, including the area near the Khasan Lake (southern part of the Primorskiy territory), to China.

In January the territory's governor Yevgeniy Nazdratenko revealed his intention to ask the Russian legislature to declare the agreement null and void. The agreement is detrimental to the national, including economic, interests of the Russian Federation, he said.

A delegation of the Federation Council arrived in the Primorskiy territory a few days ago. It visited local defense plants, a nuclear submarine unit and the Khasan District.

One of its members, deputy chairman of the Federation Council security and defense committee Pyotr Premyak said that although the Primorskiy territory faced no real threat of radioactive catastrophe, the Pacific Fleet needed equipment for the processing of its liquid radioactive waste. A substantial part of the Fleet's liquid radioactive waste remains in the Primorskiy territory.

But, according to the Fleet's commander Rear Admiral Igor Khmelnov, the utilization of the liquid radioactive waste depends on finances. Whether the Fleet will have a well-designed and well-built stationary installation for processing its nuclear waste depends on whether it has money, Khmelnov said.

According to Khmelnov, the Federation Council delegation upheld his request for allowing the local authorities, and not Moscow, to decide whether to sell discarded naval vessels and navy hardware.

Finance Minister Expects IMF 'To Refuse Standby Loan'

AU0602104295 Paris AFP in English 1029 GMT 6 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 6 (AFP)—Russia expects the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to refuse a standby loan of $6.4 billion which has already been included in the 1995 budget, Russian Finance Minister Vladimir Panskov said on Monday [6 February].

"We will not receive the standby credit of $6 billion from the IMF, and we might not obtain a credit of $600 million for rehabilitation, and we shall have to find extra sources of finance," Panskov said.

To 'Remain Inflexible' on 'Tough' Budget

AU0602114995 Paris AFP in English 1057 GMT 6 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 6 (AFP)—The International Monetary Fund will not grant Russia a loan of $6.4 billion, Finance Minister Vladimir Panskov said on Monday.

He stressed however that he remained committed to a tough line on the budget and the deficit.

The $6.4 billion expected in the form of a standby loan has already been written into the budget for 1995 which has been a central point of scepticism for an IMF mission which completed two weeks of negotiations here on Monday.

Russia had expected to receive $13 billion in international aid in 1995. But Panskov said in broadcast remarks that "the foreign credits will be less than we had expected."

He said: "We will not receive the standby credit of $6 billion from the IMF, and we might not obtain a credit of $600 million for rehabilitation, and we shall have to find extra sources of finance."

He continued: "But as minister I will remain inflexible about the tough basis of the budget and of the deficit."

Last week the Russian Duma (lower house of parliament) cleared one hurdle in the way of the loan by giving a second reading to the budget, considered in Russian circles to be relatively tough. But inflation, expected to be 18 percent in the month of January, has cast doubt on the accuracy of the calculations.

U.S. Senate Attempt To Revise START May Damage Moscow Ties

MK0402104095 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 Feb 95 pp 1, 4

[Report by Aleksandr Koretskiy under the "Hearings on START II in U.S. Senate" rubric: "Sometimes It Is More Difficult To Ratify a Treaty Than To Sign It"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee has been holding hearings on the START II treaty these days. It is well known that this procedure precedes the treaty's ratification. By preliminary expert estimates, the debate will last for about a month. Only then will the Senate's final opinion on the agreement become known. The very first assessments that have set the tone for further discussion prove, however, that START II is in for a bumpy road not only in the State Duma. It cannot be ruled out that the treaty—as has already been the case with U.S.-USSR treaties—will fall victim to a domestic political struggle

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in America. But however paradoxical it might seem, even a favorable outcome of the hearings will entail foreign policy headaches for the Clinton administration.

START II could emerge only in the atmosphere of euphoria that reigned in Russian-U.S. relations at the very beginning of the 1990's. Considerations of pure expediency also played not the least part in the extremely hasty drafting and signing of the treaty. George Bush, who lost the White House to Bill Clinton just two months before START II was signed, was not averse to putting a spectacular period in the history of his presidency. As for the "young Russian democracy," it needed a large foreign policy success like a breath of air. Not only to underscore its nuclear status, but also for domestic political reasons: the president's struggle with the Supreme Soviet had already entered the stage of Cold War. For this reason an extra trump card to pressure "the anti-reformist Supreme Soviet" was far from unnecessary. [passage omitted]

On one hand, the ratification of START II in the United States might be an irritant for Moscow, which has neither the money to implement the treaty nor the assurance that it will be ratified by the State Duma. On the other hand, it may play an extremely positive role in buttressing Boris Yeltsin's shattered image (if he finally succeeds in convincing the State Duma to ratify START II).

Still, in the United States, too, certain problems may crop up with regard to its ratification. At any rate, the hearings on the treaty began with harsh criticism. For instance, Jesse Helms, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said bluntly that he doubts the need to cut U.S. strategic forces as drastically as the START II treaty envisions. In his view, the treaty considerably reduces the potential of deterrence and, hence, increases the likelihood of aggression against the United States. Not only by unpredictable Russia, but also by China and "other potential nuclear adversaries." The senator particularly singled out Russia, however, admitting he has "no confidence that the Russians could be trusted to adhere to treaty provisions." Moreover, events in Chechnya "have raised questions about the future of reform in Russia." Hence, about its commitment to international agreements.

Such statements by a committee chairman indicate that Helms and other Republicans will not change their attitude to the treaty in the near future. But nor are they likely to bury it—such a step would be unwarranted from the point of view of both domestic and foreign policy. Yet START II could become the most powerful leverage for Congress to pressure the U.S. President. For this reason "minor amendments" to the treaty cannot be ruled out (this might well be done in Senate, but subsequently a new procedure of renegotiating and signing the document will be required).

The possible Senate amendments are highly likely to call for a linkage to political problems that have no bearing on arms cuts. In this case a blow would be dealt not only to the United States' partnership with Russia in general and the State Duma's pride in particular, but also to the personal prestige of Bill Clinton, who will have to straighten this entire mess out.

Space Experts Worried About Discovery Fuel Leakage

LD0502200495 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in English 1900 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Russian and American experts are discussing if misfunctioning on board the American space shuttle Discovery is serious enough to interfere with its rendezvous with the Russian orbit Mir station scheduled for 6 February. Five American and one Russian cosmonaut on board the Discovery space shuttle will try to approach the station at the distance of 10 meters as a preparation to docking that another American shuttle will perform with the Mir station in June. Fuel leakage from the engine of the Discovery space shuttle has Russian experts worried that it might damage the casing of the Mir station. If the experts decided that the danger is too great, the American space shuttle will have to stop at a distance of 125 meters from the Mir station.

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Political Issues

Yeltsin Extends State of Emergency in Ossetia, Ingushetia

LD0502125895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1200 GMT 5 Feb 95

[All quotation marks as received]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 5 Feb—The press service of the president of the Russian Federation issued the following statement today:

"Following the failure by the Federation Council to gather a quorum to pass the edict of the president of the Russian Federation "On introducing a state of emergency on part of the territories of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic beginning 31 January 1995. Under the law on state of emergency it is to come into force within 72 hours, but the edict has become null and void because it was not passed.

Following this, the president of the Russian Federation has signed a similar edict which gives a new time for introducing a state of emergency on part of the territories of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic beginning at 0000 on 5 February 1995."

Yeltsin To Receive Regional Governors 6 Feb

LD0602114995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1133 GMT 6 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 6 (INTERFAX)—President Boris Yeltsin is expected to receive in the Kremlin Monday the heads of six Russian regional administrations: Kaliningrad, Kursk, Orel, Yaroslavl, Chelyabinsk and Kemerovo.

The meeting should concentrate its attention on the national conference on local self-government due at the end of February—the beginning of March.

The candidates for the meeting were named by the Union of Governors. The suggestion to hold the meeting was made by presidential advisors and the Duma group of the Party of Unity and Concord.

Poll Finds Yeltsin Influence Growing After Chechnya

MK0302133095 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 3

[Report by L. Volodin in the "Political Roundup" column: "Boris Yeltsin's First, and Last, Push to the South. The List of Russia's 100 Most Influential Politicians Includes Increasingly More Army Generals"—report based on poll results prepared by, among others, officials at the Russian Federation Government apparat and presidential staff]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Last month the influence rating of particular politicians was changing depending on the events in Chechnya and the role of various political groupings in these events. Contrary to allegations by the democratic press and the no-less democratic public, as well as to the results of polls conducted by a number of sociological (presumably also democratic) services, the rating of the Russian Federation president—that is to say, his real influence—has, if anything, strengthened. This is not only the opinion of our experts but also the results of surveys done by other sociological services, acting in good faith. The attitude of Moscow's creative intelligentsia to the president as a result of the Chechen campaign has worsened, if not changed drastically. But overall in Russia, popular sympathies are more on the side of a "strong statehood" and progressively less on the side of "aliens" ["inorodtsev"]. For the time being, at any rate, as long as it seems to the people at large that the Russian authorities are coping with Chechnya. Given that the campaign threatens to become protracted, however, the mood of the majority of citizens could change at some point and then indeed one can talk not only about a fall in the president's influence but also about his own fall. Yet, let us not look that far ahead.

For the same reason that the president's rating has not changed this January, the influence of a number of military—participants in the Chechen campaign—has grown. The influence of Grachev, incapable not only of professionally managing the troops but also of holding his tongue (the latter is far more important for the rating under the current conditions), has somewhat weakened, while new leaders have emerged in the army—Generals Rokhlin and Babichev and also Aleksandr Kulikov, the new commander in chief of Russian forces in Chechnya (their influence will rise or fall in direct proportion to their military successes or failures). [passage omitted]

Yeltsin Urged To Embark on Path of Reform

MK0402120095 Tver ZAVTRA in Russian No. 5, February 95 (Signed to press 31 Jan) p 2

[Unattributed comment and text of open letter to Boris Yeltsin by Nikolay Lysenko, chairman of the National-Republican Party: "N. Lysenko to B. Yeltsin: 'You Are a Naive Person...'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last week our editorial board received from Nikolay Pavlov, people's deputy and political secretary of the National Republican Party of Russia [NRPR], a text with the following content: "The ZAVTRA newspaper published in its issue No. 3 an article by N. Anisin entitled "You Can Fall Out of Love With a Goat [a pun on Russian proverb "Lyubov zla—polyubish i kozla;" Love is blind; you can fall in love with a goat], which grossly distorts both my political stance and that of NRPR Central Council Chairman N.N. Lysenko."

Pavlov denies that the letter-statements on Chechnya, which Lysenko signed and passed to the press together with Pavlov, indicate his support for the Yeltsin regime and do not signal his antipathy for it.

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We are not inclined to contest the charges of distorting the truth—let the facts speak for themselves. We will only dare note that, in our view, following the coup d'etat staged by Yeltsin in September-October 1993, any mention of him as Russian Federation president, not a private person, cannot but mean direct support for a regime imposed by tanks. For our newspaper, any subservient petitions in which Yeltsin's name bears reference to the office he lost upon soaking the Constitution in blood are unacceptable. For us, Yeltsin is but a former president.

We are not going to impose our viewpoint on anyone, so we publish Lysenko's letter, the essence of which, in Pavlov's words, was "grossly distorted," in our today's issue:

To Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin

Open letter

Mr. President! The crisis in Chechnya has prompted me to turn to you with this open letter. I have never been among your political allies, rather the other way around. You have always been teetering on the brink between national policy and antinational pseudo-policy—I have never accepted and will never be able to accept this stance. At the same time, I have never been among your unthinking opponents; I have always seen and stood by your positive decisions. Unfortunately, these have not been numerous. Small wonder: From the very first hour of your presidency you have always been surrounded by cowardly, pedestrian, and often simply criminal political garbage, human trash in the most direct and precise meaning of this word. There is no need to prove that; suffice it to recall Kostikov alone—a collective image of Russian "democracy" from 1905 to 1994!

With an entourage like this, do you seriously expect to reform the Russian economy, to lift the country out of the all-out crisis into which it has been plunged thanks to your policy, implemented through Gaydar and Chernomyrdin? If this is so, you are a naive person, who lacks elementary political understanding! If not, then what are your assurances about "the continuation of the reform course" and "an accelerated way out of the crisis" actually worth?

The Chechen crisis has clearly shown that there are only two ways of action left to you:

First, to retain the criminal entourage, to continue the "reform course" according to the Gaydar-Chernomyrdin model, and, hence, finally to break up all structures of authority in Russia in the very near future, to deal a lethal blow to the economy, to lose the presidency, and to become an outcast damned by the entire people, just as Gorbachev is today.

The second option is resolutely to clear the country's leadership of lobbyists for the "raw material" clan, Gazprom emissaries, and agents of influence of foreign industrial capital. Hence—to embark on the path of genuine reform, to turn your face to the domestic commodity producer, resolutely to come to the defense of the Russian industry's interests.

You must realize: The Chechen crisis is only a catalyst of a process that was set in motion long ago and whose goal is to deal a lethal blow to Russia, to push it away from the path of industrial development into a colonial quagmire.

The choice is as simple and stern as has always been the case in Russian history: an empire or a colony, power or powerlessness, honor or disgrace, life or death.

If you make this choice so as only a Russian can, the situation in Chechnya will easily disentangle itself.

To this end it is essential that:

1. Russian television be cleared of the anti-national clique of Yakovlev-Poptsov.

2. All large Russian newspapers be nationalized, all editors in these newspapers, down to the level of department chief, be dismissed.

3. The top leadership of the Federal Counterintelligence Service and the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service be replaced.

4. A resolute end be put to visits of all kinds of touring political entertainers to the conflict area. The army be given a clear-cut, unequivocal, and unconditional order to eliminate the criminal, separatist regime in Chechnya.

5. A state of emergency be imposed in Moscow as an inevitable, forced measure to prevent Chechen terrorism. At the same time, military censorship of the press should be tightened.

6. An investigation be conducted and criminal charges brought against Dudayev's lobbyists in the State Duma and the government, who were the first to rush to the rescue of the criminal, separatist regime in Groznyy under the pretext of arranging the release of Russian prisoners.

You must realize, Mr. President, that you derive your genuine power from the Russian people who elected you, not from Kostikovs, Chernomyrdins, or Yakovlevs. They will take pleasure in dancing on your bones, while the people, even if they hate you, would never do that. The people are generous.

The choice is yours, Mr. President!

[Signed] Nikolay Lysenko, State Duma deputy and chairman of the Central Council of the National Republican Party of Russia

Burbulis: Too Early for Democratic Forces To Oppose Yeltsin

LD0302165495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 3 (Interfax)—It is too early for Russia's democratic forces to announce their opposition to the Russian president, as this would "incapacitate them in influencing the new generation of

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Russian politicians," according to the president of the Humanitarian and Political Research Foundation Strategia, Gennadiy Burbulis.

In an interview with Interfax, Burbulis, Russia's former state secretary supposed that "after the failure in Chechnya" Boris Yeltsin "will be persistently seeking stronger support among this new wave of pragmatic-minded professionals." Burbulis attended a conference in Moscow devoted to the 5th anniversary of the creation of a democratic platform in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Russian president is capable of deeds which "would prove that he is not only with those who pushed the Chechnya adventure through the Security Council, but also with those who opposed it," he continued. Yeltsin "will maneuver, and the democratic forces should accept these maneuvers rather than repulse the president," he added.

Burbulis motivated this by the need to prevent "the virus of separatism" from spreading all through Russia and to hold democratic elections. He said he failed to see "any danger" to holding elections within the period set by existing legislation.

In addition, Burbulis assigned much importance to "preserving the link Yeltsin-Chernomyrdin and the Federal Assembly's orientation towards a dialog with Yeltsin rather than desperate confrontation, capable only of further aggravating Russia's problems" as an important condition to achieving stability in society.

Zhirinovskiy Reviews Gorbachev, Yeltsin Era

MM0302141495 Moscow TRUD in Russian
1 Feb 95 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "From Gorbachev to Yeltsin and Beyond"—first three paragraphs are TRUD introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Judging by the predictions of many Russian politicians, the spring of 1995 will be stormy. But however high the floodwaters of the possible political events may rise, one date will certainly not go unnoticed. It is directly associated with everything that happened here in the last years of the USSR's existence and that is happening now—in Russia and the CIS. April 1995 will see the 10th anniversary of the beginning of perestroyka.

To say that this date arouses mixed feelings in our former fellow citizens is putting it mildly. For some people it is a holiday, for others a "jubilee" of mourning. But in any case it was a milestone that marked a sharp historical turning point in our country's history, and indeed in world history—and it cannot be ignored....

Some items in TRUD have already touched on this theme. And now LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who always wants to be the first to have his say on everything, has offered TRUD his observations in connection with this special date. Observations which are not, of course, uncontentious. Their style is hard-hitting, emotional, and outwardly paradoxical. True to the principle of openness and seeking to present the widest possible spectrum of sociopolitical views and sentiments, we offer this contentious article for our readers' judgment.

[Zhirinovskiy begins] The 10th anniversary of perestroyka is approaching. Anyone who feels so inclined will soon be writing and speaking on this topic. Or keeping quiet. It all depends on the situation. I will try, as has become traditional, to get in first, and open the season of reflection on the historical role of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his perestroyka.

Gorbachev is one of the key figures of the century, if not the millenium. He stands at ease alongside Napoleon, Peter [the Great], and Lenin. His reign influenced the entire world and turned that world upside down. It is another matter to ask at what price and with what consequences, who won and who lost, and what did the Russians gain from Gorbachev's global game. And that is what we are going to try to find out.

The system that Gorbachev first shook was absolutely rotten. It was dying. It had sullied its very nature and sunk into bureaucracy. It was a model of a war economy, appropriate to the era of rebuffing outside aggression. But with the appearance of nuclear missile weapons, the real probability of foreign aggression fell sharply. Economic reforms should have been launched. But for 30 years we marked time. Stalin and war were embedded forever in the brains and nervous systems of the then leaders. But now they were gradually dying out. And the young General Secretary Gorbachev, who had never smelled powder, was beginning to shake the system.

People say we should have taken the Chinese path, step by step, with no sudden movements. But that is not for Russia. Russia does not like doing things gradually, here it is either one thing or the other, either hot or cold, either we are all identical atheists or we are all believers to a man, either we are all communists or we are all monarchists, either we all turn out for the subbotnik [voluntary Saturday work] or we are all running commercial stalls. No, the gradual approach is not for us. Kosygin wanted phased reforms in 1965, and he came unstuck. So Gorbachev had a choice—go all the way, or turn back; give birth, or abort the embryo. He gave birth.

A professional politician is always particularly interested in tactics. In this respect Gorbachev and his colleagues were pretty skilled. In general the CPSU trained its cadres well in just one art—that of survival in apparatus wars, the art of maneuvers and intrigues. The party did not teach strategy. It did not tolerate strategists in its ranks. That was why it died.

But in 1985 the CPSU was still alive. And how! In 1985 Gorbachev took a sharp ax and started hacking away at the tree. Let us look at how he did it. On the left, he let

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loose the "Democratic Union," where I began my own political career. The "Democratic Union" rallies in Pushkin Square became famous countrywide. Official propaganda lashed "Democratic Union," but that only made it more famous. This handful of people did not constitute any kind of social force, but they were spoken of as a serious organization. Even then I realized that this was what someone at the very top wanted.

On the right, Gorbachev let loose "Pamyat," with its patriotic slogans. Inside the party, the detonator, by a whim of fate, was the argumentative Yeltsin. In fact, Gorbachev wanted to use Yeltsin to try to split the party's ruling clique and at the same time to clarify feelings in the Central Committee. The proof? Very simple. Gorbachev, as he himself has said, knew that Yeltsin was planning to deliver a hard-hitting speech. And for some reason, he gave him the floor right at the beginning of the Central Committee plenum. At that time nobody mounted the platform without the general secretary's say-so. So Gorbachev wanted this aggravation.

That Central Committee plenum, where Yeltsin barely muddied the water, showed Mikhail Sergeyevich a lot. He realized that the Central Committee was a monolith, an assembly of experienced party people who saw perestroyka as just another campaign, of which there had been dozens in the years of soviet power. These party people would pin any general secretary to the wall, especially him—young and provincial as he was.

So Yeltsin had to be sacrificed. But, take note, Gorbachev did not send Yeltsin as ambassador or adviser to Mongolia, where he would have been forgotten within the week; he left him in Moscow, where he quickly became the hero of the "new" press and the "Vzglyad" TV program. And so the two of them set off through perestroyka together—Gorbachev and Yeltsin, apparently adversaries on the surface, but fatally necessary to each other. Yeltsin became a mighty hammer in the hands of Mikhail Sergeyevich, with which he struck at the party system. But according to the laws of dialectics, Gorbachev was raising his own rival and grave-digger. However, to stifle that rival would have meant, for Gorbachev, stifling perestroyka itself, tearing up his own political mandate, and being left with those who would never forgive him his "idiosyncrasies." What a dilemma.

Mikhail Sergeyevich, convinced that the Central Committee could not be reformed, began to create a parallel structure—the Congress of People's Deputies. The time was ripe for this. A whole brigade of haughty professors, writers, and artists were waiting their moment. For three years they had vied with one another to criticize the CPSU in the pages of OGONEK and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, in the heavyweight journals, and as guests of the "Vzglyad" TV boys. While the obkom [oblast party committee] members were pursing acceleration and still sweating blood over completely useless party and economic aktivs, Gorby handed over the hearts and minds of the public to others—to those very same professors and writers. He did this not from weakness, but deliberately. Thanks to glasnost, he secured a parallel power structure—the Congress, which set a course of combating the already decrepit Communist Party.

One of the most enigmatic themes from the era of Gorbachev's rule is the story of interethnic conflicts and separatism. In 1988-90 the system was still in control, and any instigator, agitator, or troublemaker could have been put well out of the way. But nobody was touched. People's Fronts were formed, and spoke out openly on the air, in the newspapers, and in the parliaments. To make a stronger impression, acts of bloody carnage were started. The turning point was the election of the Russian Supreme Soviet, which immediately began to pull the rug out from under Gorbachev's feet and define Russian sovereignty.

When the echoes of all these events had died down and the Union had broken up, it began to emerge that many active members of these people's fronts, these all-out nationalists, had apparently been cooperating with the KGB for a long time. Scandals broke out in one place after another. An interesting sign, wasn't it?

And what of the breakup of the Warsaw Pact bloc? Notice that all the East European revolutions took place almost at the same time, as if by order. But why do I say "as if"? It was indeed by order. By order of Moscow.

But why did Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, Kryuchkov, and Yakovlev do all this anyway? Why did they hand over Eastern Europe, connive with separatists, and provoke the outlying areas' secession from Russia? There was something objective and very serious behind all this: It was becoming increasingly unsustainable to feed the outlying areas, to supply cheap oil and energy to the "shopwindows" of socialism in Europe. So we were happy to abandon them. Frankly, we "dropped" them, we palmed them off with a "dolly" [bundle of paper cut to look like banknotes] as used to be the practice in the hard-currency "Berezka" stores. They grabbed this "dolly" in the form of sovereignty, fled, opened it, and found just pieces of paper. Look what we are seeing in the "independent" states now. Poverty, down-and-outs. Production is falling, there is no proper business, just wars and forebodings of war. Yet remember how it was 10 years ago. They were kings....

There is another aspect too: The kindling of nationalism among small nations inevitably evokes a corresponding upsurge in Russian nationalism, a mighty, great-power nationalism. Back in Lenin's day it was Russian nationalism that the Communists feared. The USSR was built on playing up to the small peoples' national feelings (look, here's your very own republic, your own government, your own script, your own writers), combined with total suppression of Russian chauvinism. But the Communists knew that they had to give the Russians something too. And so they lulled them—using the writers—with a soft, gentle, mawkish whispering about Mother Russia, the villages, the forests, the fields, Petr the bayan-player, and Marfa the milkmaid. On television, toothless old crones sang folksy little rhymes. Various bearded types sighed

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over the loss of the people's traditions. And not a word about Russia's historic might, its influence on world affairs, its amazing wealth. True, in the era of stagnation there was one man who reminded us, to some extent, that Russia is not a land of drunken peasants, but an empire with the sparkling palaces of Petersburg, great historical traditions and achievements, brilliant thinkers, and an advanced culture. That man was called Ilya Glazunov. Glazunov's chauvinism was combined with no beard, smart foreign suits, and Marlboro cigarettes. They didn't like Glazunov. But I liked him. Many years ago I realized that diehard, "bearded" nationalism puts people off. Russian nationalism should be modern, intellectual, aggressive—fashionable, if you like. Russian nationalism should never be taken to extremes, because extreme nationalism is the road to death. Nationalism is like fire. But you have to know how to handle fire if you don't want to start a conflagration.

In recalling Gorbachev and his perestroyka, we clearly perceive a historical thread. Gorbachev destroyed an inefficient system, shook the party to pieces, and, by fostering nationalism and separatism in the republics, separated numerous parasites and "younger brothers" from Russia. With the help of anti-Sovietism he separated us from our "allies in the socialist camp." Yeltsin, with one stroke of his bear's paw, finished these jobs off well and truly, and started gradually reviving Russian autocracy. After undergoing serious operations, Russia is thin, emaciated, limping on both feet, but it has come back to the gym to flex its biceps and compete in the world championship again. And here, in the world championships, it needs a deft and quick-witted trainer, because the era now beginning is the era of the division of spheres of influence in the world, where the early bird catches the worm and the rest will have to suck their thumbs for many years to come. Apparently neither our smart economists nor our politicians, worn down by daily cares, understand this. Wake up, boys! Put your glasses on! You can learn to produce the best products in the world, but they'll never let you sell it and they'll find thousands of pretexts. And that cannot be stopped by economic means. You have to play the world's game—threaten a bit here, cajole a bit there, and in some cases, if you'll pardon the expression, ram it down their throats. And remember the example of Gorbachev again. He did not know how to haggle and make deals. He had an opportunity to extract hundreds of billions of dollars from the outside world for the global concessions that, after all, we would have had to make, because it had become too difficult to feed all that crowd. But Misha was "civilized." He couldn't do that. He wanted to be liked in Paris and in London. The Russians' fate was of less interest to him. Apparently he was not very interested in the economy either, where he made so many hasty mistakes. From 1985 onward, money was not invested in the petrochemical industry, which had always brought in foreign currency for us. Wine and spirit production was destroyed. But that was doubtless part of the overall scenario of perestroyka, since, paradoxically enough, reforms can be implemented more easily and more quickly when there is no money, so that there is no alternative to reforms. But that is not the way we are. We are different. And if we withdraw the Russian troops from the Central Asian "states" let us get, in exchange, the money to house officers in proper military encampments, not tents. And let us take the Russians out of these "states." All this talk of the fraternity of peoples in the Soviet period—let us leave that to PRAVDA.

One last thing. Not so long ago, since his resignation, Gorbachev became head of an international ecological organization. An interesting move. I wrote some time ago that it is in the ecological field that internationalism will be revived. An era of nationalism, an era of the right, is beginning in the world today, because a reshaping of spheres of influence is at hand. But at the beginning of the next century green parties will begin to rise throughout the world. An ecological army and ecological police will be created. Countries will be subjected to international sanctions for damaging the environment. Ecological ideas will grip the world just as communist ideas did at the beginning of the 20th century. But more of this another time. For the moment.... Keep an eye on Gorbachev, he'll still spring some surprises.

Shumeyko Denies Rumor of Presidential Nomination Bid

LD0302182895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1629 GMT 3 Feb 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: Compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy; Edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The speaker of the upper house of the Russian parliament, the Federation Council, Vladimir Shumeyko has expressed his "great surprise" over reports in the mass media quoting him as saying in Kaliningrad he plans to seek nomination for a presidential candidate in the 1996 elections.

Shumeyko recalled in an interview that in about the same fashion he had once been rumored to have come out for the prolongation of President Yeltsin's powers, although in reality he had suggested prolonging the powers of both houses of the Federal Assembly and calling a referendum for that purpose.

"Shumeyko made no statements in Kaliningrad about his participation or non-participation in the 1996 presidential election or even discussed that subject", the chief of the Federation Council's press service Yuriy Algunov has said.

He said that rumors accompanying Shumeyko's recent visit to Kaliningrad of his likely nomination for president in the 1996 elections had nothing to do with reality. "Vladimir Shumeyko's words were interpreted incorrectly", Algunov said. He recalled that as Shumeyko answered questions on the subject, he said he was certain that it would be the best option for the country and for the policy of reforms if Boris Yeltsin decided to seek a second term.

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Shumeyko said that the nomination of candidates for president and members of the highest bodies of power must be made in strict compliance with election laws. "The current parliament is still to adopt such laws", Algunov said. IF note: President Yeltsin's associates, including presidential press-secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov last year said they would like the president to take a clearer attitude to the 1996 election. The leaders of democratic parties and movements did the same, because before the Russian troops were moved in Chechnya they had seen Yeltsin as their sole common candidate. Yeltsin has so far avoided saying directly whether he would run for a second term. He said in an interview he would formulate his attitude when the election drew near. Meanwhile, a number of Russia's influential politicians have already declared their intention to contest the presidency. The Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is determined to participate. The Russian Communists' leader Gennadiy Zuganov and Chairman of the December 12 Liberal-Democratic Union, former Finance Minister Boris Fedorov have been saying their participation in the presidential election is a possibility.

Early Adoption of Federal Election Laws Urged

MM0302162595 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 1

[Report by Dmitriy Orlov: "Election Campaign Under Way"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A conference entitled "Political Parties in the New Election Process," organized by the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission and the International Electoral Systems Foundation (United States), initially suggested nothing more than an exchange of opinions among the organizers of election campaigns and representatives of political parties. In fact, however, it marked the beginning of the 1995 election campaign and openly raised the question of election legislation.

"Both chambers of the Federal Assembly have a vital interest in the adoption of draft election laws," Aleksandr Ivanchenko, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, told your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent. In his opinion, the draft laws on the election of the president and the State Duma, the formation of the Federation Council, and the referendum could be finally adopted by the lower chamber of parliament as early as February and approved by the Federation Council and signed by the president in March. There is a precise constitutional deadline for the parliamentary election (December 1995) and the presidential election (12 June 1996), Ivanchenko stressed, and the legal basis should be created in the near future to ensure the normal course of the elections.

Provisions of Law on Emergency Situations Summarized

MM0302134595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Feb 95 Weekend Edition p 4

[Unattributed "Protocol"-page article: "Rescue According to Regulations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Disasters and emergency situations, which have become more frequent on Russian territory in recent years, have caused the State Duma to adopt the Law "On the Protection of the Population and Territories Against Emergency Situations of a Natural and a Man-Made Nature."

The need for such a law arose long ago. Viktor Ilyukhin, chairman of the State Duma Security Committee, told us that the entire civilized world has normative and legislative acts governing the actions of various structures in times of disasters and emergency situations. But in our country, to date, we had only the 1949 Geneva Convention "On the Protection of Victims of War" and the 1977 additional protocol to it, which governed questions of civil defense. This document provided for the population's protection in emergency situations. But the protocol far from covers today's realities. A law was needed that would take account of all aspects of this problem on a contemporary level. At last it has been adopted.

Above all, the law provides a clear definition of what are to be considered emergency situations. It regulates measures to prevent and eliminate them. It defines the main legal relations of executive and legislative organs and state organizations at times of emergency situations and lays down the basis of their actions. It governs the main functional tasks of the state system in preventing and eliminating emergency situations. It also defines the responsibility of enterprises which contain dangerous production processes and which are obliged to resolve problems of protecting adjacent territories against accidents. The law obliges enterprises to actively tackle these problems.

There is special mention of the role of the government, which draws up a classification of emergency situations and defines the competence of executive organs with regard to eliminating them and the procedure for accumulating information and exchanging it between various power structures. It also elaborates the bases of the state system for countering emergency situations.

Viktor Ilyukhin reported that three more laws are being prepared for examination in the State Duma—on reserves and material resources for the elimination of emergency situations, on civil defense, and on emergency rescue services and the status of rescuers. Once they are adopted, Russia will be fully provided with normative and legislative acts on this problem.

Rutskoy U.S. Trip Shelved; Social Democrats Ready Congress

MK0302121095 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 2

[Report by Yevgeniy Krasnikov under the "Party Life" rubric: "Social Democrats Readying for New Congresses. Rutskoy Will Not Journey to the States, But to Siberia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Unlike the majority of the other parties, the political life of Russian social democrats is

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varied, eventful, and full of intrigues. On 1 February, the Russian Federation Justice Ministry awarded a certificate of registration to the Russian Social Democratic Union (RSDU)—the most solid and influential social democratic grouping, known for its friendly relations with the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia and Mikhail Gorbachev.

A number of prominent political scientists conclude on the basis of the latter circumstance that the RSDP's future election list may be graced by the names of two ex-presidents at once. Seeking a place on the election team of the Russian Social Democratic Union, in addition to Mr. Gorbachev, may also be Aleksandr Rutskoy (awarded the title of president by the will of the Constitutional Court and the 10th Congress of People's Deputies). Mr. Rutskoy is now chairman of the Russian Social Democratic People's Party (RSDPP), which forms the RSDP's cornerstone.

It remains unclear whether Aleksandr Rutskoy wishes to link his future with the social democrats. Mr. Rutskoy is known for always adhering to the patriotic idea, and he is now actively persuading people in Russia to join the "Derzhava" movement he is forming (its founding congress will take place in March) from which he intends to run for president. Nevertheless, Aleksandr Vladimirovich has failed to lure all his fellow party members by patriotism. Some of them (led by executive committee chairman Vasiliy Lipitskiy) remain faithful to social democratic values and still refrain from merging with "Derzhava." Whom the RSDPP will befriend will perhaps become clear after the party aktiv has met. Mr. Rutskoy's supporters hope to have nearly 50 board members on hand on that day. Their opponents are convinced that despite the leaders' ardent call, not more than 20 activists will report to Moscow, and there will be no quorum.

In addition to fighting opposition inside the party, Mr. Rutskoy has some other problems. Quite unexpectedly, the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry this week vetoed his trip to the United States scheduled for the next few days. In the States, Aleksandr Rutskoy was expected to address the National Press Club, and meet with Edward Kennedy and Newt Gingrich. But all these plans went up in smoke. All because Rutskoy, the Foreign Ministry is convinced, is a carrier of "state secrets." The refusal is all the more the pity because Aleksandr Rutskoy has received to date more than 20 invitations to travel abroad. In all likelihood, Aleksandr Vladimirovich will have to be satisfied, instead of the United States, with a trip to Siberia and seek consolation in talking to local comrades-in-arms.

While opposition social democrats are engrossed in an internecine struggle, the Russian administration continues experiments to evolve a loyal social democratic species. Scheduled for 17 February is the founding congress of a Party of Social Democracy (PSD), a plan for which was put forward by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev more than three months ago. As was expected, Sergey Filatov, general supervisor [generalnyy kurator] of the plan, is going to honor the congress with his presence. Even before its birth, the PSD has sustained appreciable losses: Gavriil Popov, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, and a number of other politicians who signed the founding documents have lost interest in the organization over the intervening months. Yet, according to some available information, Yevgeniy Savostyanov, head of the Moscow Federal Counterintelligence Service Directorate, was offered to head the city organization of the PSD (if, and contrary to expectations, it is ever created).

Poll: 53% of Russians Think Grachev Should Resign

LD0502203395 Moscow NTV in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 95

[From the "Itogi" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] With regard to the background against which all these issues will be decided, I'd like to draw your attention to the state of Russian public opinion. According to the latest Russia-wide poll carried out specially for Itogi by the Public Opinion Foundation, 53 percent of those polled think that Defense Minister Pavel Grachev should resign; 18 percent of Russian citizens disagree with this; 29 percent didn't know. And according to the same poll, 52 percent—that is, the absolute majority of those polled—think that a genuine Russian patriot should come out against the military operation in Chechnya; 19 percent of those polled think a genuine patriot should support the military operation in the Chechen republic; and 29 percent don't know.

Moscow Rally Urges Action To Prevent Spread of Chechen War

LD0502164295 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Feb 95

["Novosti" newscast video report by Grigoriy Batiyev]

[FBIS Translated Text] The organizers and participants of a rally held in the center of Moscow today have spoken against continuing the war in Chechnya. Appeals to the entire Russian nation have been voiced at the rally to protest against other Caucasus republics being dragged into the conflict. Sazhi Umalatova, who was introduced as the chairman of the permanent presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has criticized State Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin as well as Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and accused the United States of arranging the Chechen war with the aim of destroying Russia. Its organizers, who described themselves as members of the left antiwar movements, promise to hold another rally next Sunday and bring the entire Russian people to take part in it. Today's rally on Teatralnaya Square was attended by about 1,000 people.

Military & Space Issues

Kolesnikov Chairs Defense Ministry Collegium Session

LD0302142395 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1252 GMT 3 Feb 95

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry Collegium is meeting in Moscow today under the chairmanship of Mikhail Kolesnikov, head of the Russian armed forces General Staff, a source in the military department told INTERFAX. There are two issues on the collegium's agenda: a discussion of measures to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great Patriotic War and the progress being made in preparations to ratify the convention banning chemical weapons.

I remind you that Defense Minister Pavel Grachev is in the hospital for a physical check-up. No one knows when the minister will be discharged from the hospital, the source noted.

Aide: Grachev To Return to Duty After Medical Check-Up

LD0302192095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1843 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 3 (INTERFAX)—Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev will complete his regular medical checkup and return to his duties next week, one of his aides, Yelena Agapova, told Interfax Friday.

Agapova said "certain forces are constantly searching for any pretext for various insinuations and speculations around the defense minister. In this case, politics is being played on a very common occurrence." Some Russian mass media had supposed that Grachev would be sacked right after the examination.

According to Agapova, "most Defense Ministry generals and officers are going through a planned-for medical exam."

Grachev To Chair Defense Ministry Conference

LD0602114895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1024 GMT 6 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 6 (Interfax)—The leadership of the Russian Defence Ministry is holding a conference in Moscow chaired by Defence Minister Pavel Grachev on the results of last week.

According to a source in the General Staff, it is a routine conference—performance is reviewed weekly. The meeting is attended by deputy ministers, the chiefs of key divisions of the ministry and the leadership of the General Staff.

The source did not rule out the possibility that along with current ministry activities the conference is discussing matters related to the completion of the involvement of armed forces in the operation in Chechnya.

Chernomyrdin, Lobov Hold Meeting on Military Reform

LD0302191995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1843 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 3 (Interfax)—Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin and Secretary of the Russian Security Council Oleg Lobov held a large meeting on military reform on the instruction of the Russian president in Moscow today.

Well-informed sources in the Kremlin told Interfax that the meeting had continued throughout the whole day.

Satellite Communications 'Can No Longer Be Guaranteed'

MM0302145795 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 95

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Video report by Sergey Slipchenko and Igor Sazonov, identified by caption]

[Text] [Slipchenko] In a nutshell, space sector leaders Semenov, Koptev, and Colonel General Ivanov told Duma deputies that one day soon television over a vast area beyond the Ural Mountains might simply disappear, or that a government leader, picking up the receiver, might find the telephone to be dead.

Currently 104 of the 177 Russian satellites circling the Earth have come to the end of their working life. This means that their continued operation can no longer be guaranteed.

Duma deputies listened to all this dumbfounded. But they were enthralled by the tour of the enterprise, by the sight of its excellent production facilities. However, these space apparatus assemblies are labeled "deficit." This means that components for them are not available. Generally speaking, Russia is lagging behind China as regards funding and is comparable to Belgium which has no cosmodromes, no launchers, and no satellites.

Semenov has received 17 presidential resolutions, Koptev has received more than 20 government ordinances, but the Ministry of Finance is saying that there is no money. Does this mean that Russia does not need government or military communications, facilities to verify the observance of international treaties, early warning about missile strikes, intelligence, and many other things which make a country powerful and independent? Of course not. Everyone is saying that all this is necessary. But there is no money. Discontinuation of the manned spaceflight program would affect Western partners who have already invested tens of millions of dollars. This would mean sanctions and forfeits for Russia. Here is what Russian Space Agency Director Yuriy Koptev said at a press conference, and it is of fundamental importance.

[Koptev] Regaining the positions which we held 10 years ago is simply impossible today. If we are talking about state support, let us stop and think what our priorities are. We must decide what the state's priorities are. Say, priority number one, and priority number two. We are deeply convinced of this, and we are prepared to prove in any debate that the space industry in all its aspects— be it military, civilian, or international—is probably the only sector without which Russia will not be able to manage

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either its territory, or its defense, or its commitments to other countries under the international [space] project, and so on and so forth.

[Slipchenko] This has to be brought to the notice of the deputies, the government, the Ministry of Finance, and the public. So that when the lightning strikes, nobody can say: "We had no warning."

Deputy Minister Denies Pollution Threat From Chelyabinsk-65

LD0502215895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 5 February broadcasts a three and a half minute report from the Japanese agency Kyodo Tsushin on the threat of an overflow of radioactive waste from the Karachay special storage lake at the Mayak plant in Chelyabinsk-65. Radio Rossii correspondent Veronika Gerasimenko asked Nikolay Yegorov, Russian deputy minister for atomic energy how much truth there was in this report. Gerasimenko said that "the situation at the Mayak production association in respect to the storage of radioactive waste is being monitored and at the moment presents no danger to the population and the environment."

He goes on to say that it would not become dangerous even during the possible spring floods in 1995, and that the Japanese media worries were groundless.

However, Greenpeace representatives believe that there is a threat of pollution by radioactive waste from the Karachay lake to small nearby rivers and underground springs. The money assigned to the Mayak plant for measures to ensure ecological safety is being used to build new facilities at the plant.

Aleksey Yablokov, chairman of the interdepartmental commission for ecological safety, does not believe that this information is true, and thinks that the people working at this enterprise are honest people.

However, in Chelyabinsk-70, also known as Snezhinsk, Nikolay Shur, head of an ecological monitoring laboratory, measured a site near a kindergarten, which showed a radioactivity level 20 times higher than the natural background level. He spoke about this on local radio and not long after was placed in solitary confinement for investigation.

Federal Assembly

Federation Council Fails To Convene Emergency Session

LD0302134095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1225 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—The upper house of the Russian parliament, due to convene for an emergency session on Friday, has failed to drum up the quorum and cancelled the session which was expected to consider a presidential decree extending the state of emergency on the territory of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic in the Caucasus.

Only 96 of the houses's 176 members have arrived in Moscow in time for the announced opening, while according to the rules, 118 members are required to attend for a quorum.

Another hindrance was that the chamber's security and defence committee has not come up with a preliminary statement on the decree.

Under the constitution, presidential decrees can be approved or turned down by the upper chamber within 72 hours from the time of signing. The term expired at 14.00 on Friday.

The Federation Council was scheduled to convene on February 6, but it was decided to call an extraordinary session in order to consider the Russian president's decree extending the state of emergency in the Caucasian republics after its term expired on February 2.

Ingush President Ruslan Aushev told ITAR-TASS he saw "no great tragedy" in the upper chamber's failure to approve the decree. According to President Aushev, the state of emergency which has been regularly extended for more than a year "does not really solve the problems related to the conflict in the zone, and primarily the problem of the return of refugees from the Ingush Republic to the territory of North Ossetia's Prigorodnyy district". Ruslan Aushev also said that his letter addressed to the government of the Russian Federation with a request to replace Vladimir Lozovoy as the head of the provisional administration was still awaiting a response.

North Ossetia's President Akhsarbek Galazov holds a different view on the situation. He told ITAR-TASS that the state of emergency "is effective as it stabilises the situation in the region and averts any possible new interethnic conflicts".

The president of North Ossetia does not think that Boris Yeltsin's decree of January 31 has become ineffective because the Federation Council failed to approve it before 14.00 on Friday.

Galazov believes that the decree will be approved by the upper house on February 7.

Sources in the press centre of the Federation Council told ITAR- TASS that the security and defence committee is certain to come up with a draft resolution by Monday, February 6.

New Law on Parties Seen Stalled By All But Communists

MK0402130095 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 Feb 95 p 2

[Report by Natalya Arkhangelskaya: "Law on Parties. Law on Parties Dies Not Having Been Born"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The State Duma Committee for the Affairs of Public Organizations intends to put before the chamber soon a law on political parties. This will be the third attempt to get the draft law passed in first reading [as published]: the first two, made last summer and fall, failed. Nor is the new attempt guaranteed success (it is rather difficult to reconcile the interests of Russia's many parties) even if the draft law was amended after two readings. It is not ruled out that as a result, the document is going to end up emasculated.

The stumbling block, as before, is the ban (or permission) on setting up party cells at enterprises, and rules for financing parties. It is easy to guess who speaks for party cells—the Communists, of course. Quite the contrary, the mere mention of the party meetings "in work collectives" nightmare drives democrats up the wall. Let me note that at issue is exclusively the state sector, where everything is going to depend on the administration's political likes and dislikes—the hiring of premises, tolerant attitude to party work within the walls of an enterprise, and so on. The latest version of the draft law contains no item permitting the creation of party cells, but deputies of the democratic wing fear that their political opponents may start acting on the principle of "all that is not prohibited is permitted." For this reason democrats insist on making special mention of work collectives in Article 6, which specifies restrictions on the creation and operation of political parties affecting state security organs, law and order organs, the Armed Forces, as well as state power organs and local governments (with the exception of representative organs).

The question of financing is no less painful. The draft law provides for budget financing, something warmly welcomed by parties that think of themselves as poor—the Communists, Agrarians, and Liberal Democrats. As for the Democrats, they see as monstrous the prospect, for example, of supporting Zhirinovskiyites from the budget. Never opposing in principle such a norm, they think state financing is premature today although many parties in fact rose on the foundation of state structures: PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] emerged from the State Committee for Nationalities Affairs, the Agrarian Party of Russia from the Ministry of Agriculture, the Democratic Choice of Russia from the State Committee for the Administration of State Property, and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia from state security and the Armed Forces. The list goes on. Besides, Duma democrats think, the alignment of forces in parliament does not reflect society's sentiments, for which reason it would be unfair to support some political forces at taxpayer expense.

Of special interest is how to keep tabs on parties' financial activities. Article 19 of the draft law says that parties shall forward their financial reports, after they have been reviewed by the tax service, to parliament's Audit Chamber, which shall then forward them to the State Duma chairman "for circulation in the form of parliamentary documents." Interference of law and order organs, which may be very well required if abuses have been discovered, has not been provided for. The worst punishment that may follow in this case is a suspension of financing of the given party's election campaign. In principle, this can intimidate few people considering the wide opportunities for unofficial financing. And if you think that the Audit Chamber elected by the Federal Assembly chambers is running the risk, owing to this circumstance, of turning into an absolutely docile organ as far as the deputies are concerned, the whole thing adds up to the fact that parties, especially those that made it to parliament, will have virtually a free hand.

In discussing the draft law there were some complaints from the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, which thought regulating internal party life was unnecessary, in particular the requirement about a reasonable period between congresses and rotation of leaders. Well, Zhirinovskiyites, who elected their leader to stay on till the year 2000 and beyond, could not simply go along with it. Thus the norm disappeared from the document.

And finally, an idea was heard in the course of discussions: Why make haste at all with the law on parties. The party insisting upon this especially was the PRES, but many other parties are known to agree with it. This is only too understandable: once the law has been passed, all the existing parties will have to reregister, according to new rules at that. Where would that leave the PRES, a considerable part of whose members are high-ranking officials? This is not to mention the fact that reregistration is a hassle of document review which few people would look forward to. All that makes very doubtful the draft law's prospects—even its emasculated version. As far as is known, against it in principle are deputies of "Russia's Choice" and "Yabloko" who believe that this sort of gift to a nascent multiparty system can only do harm. They may be joined by deputies elected from one-candidate districts who are jealous of those elected from lists of candidates because the latter receive aid from the budget. The latter number half of the Duma. Analysts think that the Communists alone can be seen as convinced supporters of the law's quick passage.

Maritime Kray Develops Nuclear-Waste Purification Process

OW0502143695 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0620 GMT 25 Jan 95

[Ye. Maslov video report; from the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] The literary image of the left-hander [referring to a Russian folk tale about a highly skilled left-handed blacksmith], which has become a common noun among us, probably suits Russian science today more than ever. Even the unquestionable worldwide recognition it enjoys cannot always challenge the prestige of Western technologies in Russia. Recently, Maritime Kray residents added their share to the domestic piggy bank of unrecognized projects.

They have never dealt closely with the problem of liquid nuclear waste, but the unavoidable conversion and the

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need to dismantle nuclear submarines at the Zvezda plant forced both the kray administration and the scientific laboratories of the Far East to face the problem. In accordance with traditional technologies, the radioactive waste was purified with composite sorbent, after which it was dumped in the sea. Scientists of the Chemistry Institute of the Far East department of the Russian Academy of Science have ample working experience with this substance, and they have managed to develop a unique technology for treating the waste on the basis of sorbent purification. As you can see, the effect is several times greater than for analogous foreign methods. The raw material is cheap and is located close at hand—it is the Maritime Kray's zeolite. What is more, the purification process is carried out in only two stages: The sorbent, after having functioned as a filter, is immediately cemented and becomes safe. The engineering of such a device is something that even a physics student is capable of, and its cost is almost laughable in industrial terms: 380 million rubles. As a comparison, analogous projects are usually priced at millions of dollars.

[Begin recording] We cannot prove anything in the kray; I repeat—we cannot. We are told: There is no money for building the facility. Possibilities are being explored for foreigners, and Japanese first and foremost, to build here a facility for about $200 million. Yet who will operate it after that? And excuse me, but what are we supposed to pay for its operation with—peanuts? We will have to buy a huge amount of disposable material, and ionite resin first and foremost, which is what the Japanese facility operates on. As to substituting for it with our own material, it might be a different process and a different technology, and finally, the operating expenses are huge. Has anyone even inquired as to which of the two methods was better? [end recording]

Maritime Kray scientists find the solution in a simple experiment to compare the technologies. Still, it is too bad—the invention won one of the top prizes at this year's Moscow international conference for environmental protection. But even so, this technology has found no support with either the kray's or the central authorities.

Regional Affairs

Reportage, Commentary on Conflict in Chechnya

Kulikov Claims 'Turning Point' in Sight

LD0302135795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1318 GMT 3 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozdok (North Ossetia), 3 Feb—"The turning-point in the Chechen campaign is now in sight," thinks Colonel General Anatoliy Kulikov, commander of the MVD RF [Russian Federation Interior Ministry] internal troops, who was, the other day, appointed commander of the combined grouping of forces in the Chechen Republic. Today he arrived in Mozdok.

The general told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that he saw the command's task as being "the gradual creation, first of all in Groznyy, of a foundation for the revival of the territorial power structures and the normalization of life".

Replying to a question about whether he liked his assignment to Chechnya, General Kulikov said he "is not in raptures, but will carry out the task that has been set by the Security Council and the country's leadership."

Federal Troops Prepare for 'Final Phase'

LD0302150895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok, Feb 3 (INTERFAX)—On Friday federal troops continued their preparations for the final phase of military actions in Groznyy, a military source in Mozdok (North Ossetia) told Interfax. Their units are engaged in combing Staropromyslovskiy District, the north-eastern part of the city and the adjoining villages.

As the source said, in the past 24 hours active military actions were waged by units from the Northern and Western Groups of federal troops, who expanded their bridge-head to Leningrad St. where it crossed with the Yakutskiy side-street. Clashes with militants also occurred during the combing of the tramway terminal in the northern areas of Groznyy.

According to the source, eight tactical groups of Interior Ministry troops "blocked the main directions of militants' movements, and the places of their deployment in Chechnya; together with frontier troops the Interior Ministry units covered Chechnya's administrative border and disarmed illegal armed groups."

According to the command of the Western Group of federal troops, during daytime the Dudayev loyalists use mainly small firearms. Their artillery is used when it is dark, to lower the possibility of exposing their weapon emplacements.

Locations of Chechen Forces Detailed

LD0302152595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 3 (INTERFAX)—Dzhokhar Dudayev units control settlements in the southern mountainous part of Chechnya, as well as some settlements to the east of Groznyy, in the west and north-east of the republic.

According to military intelligence information, which became known to an INTERFAX correspondent, the Chechen grouping in Groznyy constitutes up to 5,000

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people. Up to 5,000 Dudayev supporters are situated in the town of Gudermes, situated 40 kilometers to the east of the Chechen capital.

Groupings of 100-500 people are stationed, according to the intelligence information, at settlements of Argun (15-20 km to the east of Groznyy), Kargalinskaya (north-eastern Chechnya). In the district center Shchelkovskaya near the village of Kargalinskaya, Chechen formations number 1,500 fighters. A large grouping was deployed in the Achkhoy-Martanovskiy district bordering on Ingushetia, for example, in the villages of Achkhoy-Martan, Bamut, Arshty and Samashky.

In the mountainous southern part of Chechnya, Dudayev formations, according to military intelligence, total 2,000 people. Equipped there are at least one auxiliary command post, bases, warehouses and one helicopter landing point.

Chechen Antiwar Mood Reportedly Growing

LD0302160995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1555 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 3 ITAR-TASS—The press service of the government of the Russian Federation released the following statement on Friday:

"According to the Defence Ministry, the situation in the Chechen Republic remains tense. In the course of street fighting in Groznyy, the units of the unlawfully armed forces have suffered considerable losses of personnel and equipment. However, they continue to control the front-line and separate defence strongholds on the right bank of the River Sunzha. Under their cover, the withdrawal of the main forces continues from the capital to places in the southern and southeastern directions where bases are being organised for a guerilla movement.

"Mercenaries from foreign countries continue to take part in fighting on Dudayev's side. A group of militants numbering up to 150 men, including Ukrainians and Afghan mercenaries, has been sighted in the sanatorium in the village of Chernorechye.

"Nonetheless, there is information that the recruiting centres in the republics of the northern Caucasus have failed to recruit the required number of militants. For this reason, top officials of the Dudayev regime (including vice president of the Chechen Republic Yandarbiyev and chairman of the state security department Geliskhanov) have been dispatched to the republic's southern and south-eastern regions to recruit reinforcements from among local militiamen and common peaceful civilians who are being called up in a compulsory manner to make up for the personnel losses in Groznyy.

"However, antiwar sentiments are growing among the Chechen population. In some residential areas local inhabitants have cut back their supplies to the militants. Ever more residential centres refuse to accommodate bases of militants on their territory on the strength of their inhabitants' reluctance to incur the danger of becoming targets for retaliatory airstrikes and assaults.

"As the great number of refugees increases and separate groups of militants withdraw to the Ingush territory, a tendency to draw the Ingush Republic into the Chechen conflict is becoming pronounced. Local inhabitants are actively prepared for combat actions. For instance, the village of Nesterovskaya has mustered several companies of self-defence forces, numbering up to 600 men. It is now building defence fortifications and firearm emplacements, as well as preparing stocks of foodstuffs and property".

Provisional Council Decries 'Unjust' Actions

LD0402114495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0842 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Znamenskoye, 4 Feb—Ruslan Martagov, press secretary of the Chechen Provisional Council, today, acting on the council's instructions, requested the Russian leadership and the command of the federal forces to "display firm adherence to principle" with regard to servicemen who commit acts of violence against civilians in Chechnya.

The statement speaks of "an avalanche of instances, evidence, and eyewitness accounts of what is literally unjust and inhuman treatment [o bukvalno bespredele] meted out in the districts of Groznyy liberated from Dudayev's formations by some servicemen in the Russian Army." It is claimed that looting, robbery, and pointless killing of civilians are taking place. According to him, "this practice is provoking dozens of new volunteers, who had previously been loyal to the federal organs of power, to take up arms."

Condemning the power-wielding departments for "the barbaric and senselessly cruel bombardment and shelling of residential districts in Groznyy inhabited by civilians who were unable, for a number of reasons, to leave their homes," the Provisional Council spokesman stresses nevertheless that "the dispatch of federal troops to the republic is a natural result of the policy conducted by Dudayev and his entourage since they seized power in 1991."

"As a result of the retired general's blatantly separatist policy, Russia as a state found itself on the verge of disintegration and was obliged to take steps to protect its integrity," the statement points out. "But one must say comment on the methods being used to restore constitutional order to Chechnya."

The Provisional Council of Chechnya, led by Umar Avturkhanov, was created in July 1994 as the political center for the forces opposed to Dudayev. At the end of January, Umar Avturkhanov and Salambek Khadzhiyev, head of the government of national rebirth, were appointed first deputies to Nikolay Semenov, head of the territorial administration of the federal organs of executive power of the Chechen Republic.

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Government Press Service Report on Conflict

LD0402135995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1152 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 4 Feb—ITAR-TASS has received the following report from the Russian Government Press Service:

"The federal troop command in the Republic of Chechnya reports that, on 3 February, Russian troops continued to regroup and to set up assault detachments. Interior Ministry troops have replaced Defense Ministry subunits at checkpoints. Staropromyslovskiy rayon has in the main been cleared of illegal armed groups. Fighters in the northern outskirts of Gikalovskiy settlement have been defeated and the concentration of forces and equipment by illegal armed groups in the northern outskirts of Gudermes and the eastern outskirts of Prigorodnoye has been prevented.

"In addition to the tasks being dealt with, Interior Ministry troops have planned reconnaissance and search missions in the direction of Novyy Sharoy, Achkhoy-Martan, and Samashki and intend to introduce a passport regime in Assinovskaya and several other regions of Chechnya.

"Large-scale training of Dudayev supporters for further armed resistance against the Russian power-wielding structures is continuing in the mountainous areas of Chechnya. At the same time, there are signs of a considerable fall in Dudayev's prestige among the mountain people. Many accuse him of actually betraying and deceiving his own people.

"According to information received, Dudayev's headquarters have worked out an operation involving an assault on the Russian troops' rear formations by groups of fighters located in inhabited localities on the outskirts of Groznyy, with the simultaneous stepping up of hostilities by the main forces. An offensive is planned in the vicinity of Khankala.

"Reports are coming in to the effect that the illegal armed formations are obtaining arms and ammunition from Shalinskiy and Vedenskiy rayons. At the same time, counterintelligence organs are encountering cases in which reports about arms caches and fighters' bases have been deliberate disinformation spread by Dudayev's special forces.

"In the assessment of observers, protecting the railway lines is still the weak spot in the Ishcherskaya-Chervlennaya-Uzlovaya-Kizlyar sector, and this allows extremist-minded forces to carry out actions designed to make the situation worse in that section of the North Caucasus Railway."

Troops Rebuff Chechen Attack Near Dagestan

LD0402163995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1628 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok February 4 TASS—Russian troops rebuffed Chechen militants' attempt to break through the defenses and recapture the road to Groznyy from neighbouring Dagestan early on Saturday.

As a result of a three-hour fight, Russian troops destroyed 8 armoured vehicles, 10 trucks and over 150 militants.

Federal troops also sustained losses, military sources told ITAR-TASS.

The sources said the militants were supported by fire from Chechen villages which had earlier pledged loyalty to the Russian Armed Forces.

Federal Troops Launch Attack on Yermolovka

LD0502113095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1111 GMT 5 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maisigov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nazran February 5 (TASS)—There have been no changes in the positions of the warring sides in Groznyy over the past 24 hours. The shelling of the city districts by salvo-fire artillery guns was continued, State Duma Member Mark Feygin (Russia's Choice faction), who has returned from Groznyy, told ITAR-TASS on Sunday.

According to military sources in Nazran, Federal troops launched an attack on Yermolovka village, which is located approximately 15 km south-west of Groznyy, at dawn on Sunday. By nine a.m. armoured vehicles, accompanied by infantry, were at a distance of about two kilometres from the village.

Chechen Morale Reportedly 'Going Down'

LD0502185795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 5 (INTERFAX)—The Russian Government, with reference to the Defense Ministry, said on Sunday the situation in Chechnya remains difficult.

A government press release obtained by INTERFAX says army and Interior Ministry troops have been continuing "the destruction of illegal armed formations" in Chechnya's capital Groznyy, have rebuffed a Chechen attack near Chechen-Aul, 12 kilometers (8 miles) south of Groznyy and have been regrouping their forces.

"Interior Ministry units have continued replacing Defense Ministry troops at checkpoints, and a bridgehead on the right bank of the Sunzha River in the central part of the city has been expanded," the release reads. "The air force has been conducting air reconnaissance and transporting cargo, killed and wounded. The pilot of the Su-25 aircraft shot down on Saturday has not been found."

"On February 4, 350 (Chechen) fighters were killed, and five tanks, five armored vehicles and 46 motor vehicles were destroyed. Eighteen fighters were taken prisoner," the release goes on.

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Government Press Service Report on Conflict

LD0402135995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1152 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 4 Feb—ITAR-TASS has received the following report from the Russian Government Press Service:

"The federal troop command in the Republic of Chechnya reports that, on 3 February, Russian troops continued to regroup and to set up assault detachments. Interior Ministry troops have replaced Defense Ministry subunits at checkpoints. Staropromyslovskiy rayon has in the main been cleared of illegal armed groups. Fighters in the northern outskirts of Gikalovskiy settlement have been defeated and the concentration of forces and equipment by illegal armed groups in the northern outskirts of Gudermes and the eastern outskirts of Prigorodnoye has been prevented.

"In addition to the tasks being dealt with, Interior Ministry troops have planned reconnaissance and search missions in the direction of Novyy Sharoy, Achkhoy-Martan, and Samashki and intend to introduce a passport regime in Assinovskaya and several other regions of Chechnya.

"Large-scale training of Dudayev supporters for further armed resistance against the Russian power-wielding structures is continuing in the mountainous areas of Chechnya. At the same time, there are signs of a considerable fall in Dudayev's prestige among the mountain people. Many accuse him of actually betraying and deceiving his own people.

"According to information received, Dudayev's headquarters have worked out an operation involving an assault on the Russian troops' rear formations by groups of fighters located in inhabited localities on the outskirts of Groznyy, with the simultaneous stepping up of hostilities by the main forces. An offensive is planned in the vicinity of Khankala.

"Reports are coming in to the effect that the illegal armed formations are obtaining arms and ammunition from Shalinskiy and Vedenskiy rayons. At the same time, counterintelligence organs are encountering cases in which reports about arms caches and fighters' bases have been deliberate disinformation spread by Dudayev's special forces.

"In the assessment of observers, protecting the railway lines is still the weak spot in the Ishcherskaya-Chervlennaya-Uzlovaya-Kizlyar sector, and this allows extremist-minded forces to carry out actions designed to make the situation worse in that section of the North Caucasus Railway."

Troops Rebuff Chechen Attack Near Dagestan

LD0402163995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1628 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok February 4 TASS—Russian troops rebuffed Chechen militants' attempt to break through the defenses and recapture the road to Groznyy from neighbouring Dagestan early on Saturday.

As a result of a three-hour fight, Russian troops destroyed 8 armoured vehicles, 10 trucks and over 150 militants.

Federal troops also sustained losses, military sources told ITAR-TASS.

The sources said the militants were supported by fire from Chechen villages which had earlier pledged loyalty to the Russian Armed Forces.

Federal Troops Launch Attack on Yermolovka

LD0502113095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1111 GMT 5 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maisigov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nazran February 5 (TASS)—There have been no changes in the positions of the warring sides in Groznyy over the past 24 hours. The shelling of the city districts by salvo-fire artillery guns was continued, State Duma Member Mark Feygin (Russia's Choice faction), who has returned from Groznyy, told ITAR-TASS on Sunday.

According to military sources in Nazran, Federal troops launched an attack on Yermolovka village, which is located approximately 15 km south-west of Groznyy, at dawn on Sunday. By nine a.m. armoured vehicles, accompanied by infantry, were at a distance of about two kilometres from the village.

Chechen Morale Reportedly 'Going Down'

LD0502185795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 5 Feb 95

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"Interior Ministry units have continued replacing Defense Ministry troops at checkpoints, and a bridgehead on the right bank of the Sunzha River in the central part of the city has been expanded," the release reads. "The air force has been conducting air reconnaissance and transporting cargo, killed and wounded. The pilot of the Su-25 aircraft shot down on Saturday has not been found."

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On Sunday, Russian forces "continued carrying out tasks to bring hostilities to an end in Groznyy, disarm illegal armed formations and expand zones under their control. Posts were put up to blockade the village of Assinovskaya. Illegal armed formations are offering stubborn resistance to Russian troops in a bid to gain time for building defenses in the southern and southeastern parts of Groznyy, along the right banks of the Sunzha and Argun rivers. Gudermes is also preparing for defense. The Chechen command plans to turn the town into the second most important center of resistance to Russian troops after Groznyy," the release says.

"(Chechen leader Dzhokhar) Dudayev's fighters are continuing to create a center of resistance in the area of the villages of Sernovodsk, Samashki and Achkhoi-Martan. Samashki is being held by a detachment up to 500 strong, armed with artillery, air defense and antitank guns. Chechen sabotage and reconnaissance parties are chiefly trying to gather intelligence about Russian troops from the population of rural areas. Such parties have for the first time been noticed to use motorcycles fitted with radio sets instead of motor cars. It has been established that in western regions of Chechnya fighters are planting mines on roads, paths, bypasses and bridges," the release reads further on.

"In the mountainous regions of Chechnya training is continuing of Dudayev's supporters for further armed resistance to Russian power structures. The fighters' leadership has decided to prepare and carry out a series of operations against Russian troops in the period between February 20 and February 23, the days of the 51st anniversary of the deportation of the Chechens and Ingush (by the Stalin regime). Dudayev has ordered his fighters to penetrate into the liberated districts of Groznyy, settle down there masquerading as civilians, and on February 23 'give the Russians a Night of St. Bartholomew,'" the release carries on.

But "the morale of the fighters and their commanders is going down. The main cause of this is the fact that their hopes for powerful international support and assistance have not come true," the release says.

'Fierce' Battles Near Groznyy Rail Station

LD0502222895 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a report from the Russian Ministry of Defense, the federal troops in Chechnya continued the artillery shelling of the Voykovo and Chernorechye settlements, as well as the bus terminal and the chemical plant. There were fierce battles in the area of Groznyy railway station. The territory of the station itself is controlled by government subunits.

Meanwhile, fires continue to blaze at two oil refineries in the neighborhood of the Chechen capital. Dudayev's supporters are strengthening the defense line in the southern and southeastern districts of Groznyy and in the region of the town of Gudermes, as well as in the settlements of Samashki, Sernovodsk, and Achkhoy-Martan.

Dudayev himself, according to certain reports, is in Groznyy. This statement was made to INTERFAX by Ali Aliyev, chairman of the Confederation of Caucasian Peoples, who is in Moscow.

Dudayev Reportedly Still in Groznyy

LD0502160695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1441 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 5 (INTERFAX)—Dzhokhar Dudayev stays in Groznyy and did not leave Chechnya, chairman of parliament of the Confederation of the Caucasus Nations, Ali Aliyev, told Interfax in Moscow on Sunday.

Aliyev said that he recently talked to Dudayev in Groznyy. Aliyev said that the Dudayev family had not left Chechnya either. His family, he said, like many other civilians, has been evacuated from the zone of hostilities and is in one of the mountainous villages on the territory of the Chechen Republic.

Dudayev, said Aliyev, "fully controls the situation in Chechnya." He believes that "even if Groznyy is seized by federal troops, the war in Chechnya will not end." "The Chechen people will not surrender and will fight to the end," said Aliyev.

Besides, he believes, hostilities will inevitably escalate to Ingushetia and Dagestan.

Semenov Tours Groznyy, Meets With Rokhlin

LD0502185595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1711 GMT 5 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 5 Feb—For the first time since he was appointed to the post of head of the territorial directorate of the federal bodies of the executive power in the Chechen Republic, Nikolay Semenov visited Groznyy today. In an armored vehicle he drove around the town where he had worked for 13 years and examined the damage to the town. Semenov met the staff of an administrative zone of Staropromyslovskiy region, who asked him about the legal basis for the operation of administrative zones, and in particular, about the registration of refugees and a system of permits in the town which is controlled by the military. The staff said they would like to work alongside representatives of the Ministry for Emergency Situations and other federal bodies.

Semenov held a conference with representatives of building organizations at Groznyy's institute of oil and chemistry, which now houses the headquarters for the town restoration. They discussed the restoration of infrastructures of the industrial region of Staropromyslovskiy, which had suffered least during military actions. The sides

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also discussed the preparation of premises for the interim government of national rebirth and the administration of the territorial directorate.

Semenov also met today corps commander Lieutenant General Lev Rokhlin whose troops are carrying out the military operation in Chechnya.

After the tour of the town, Semenov met journalists at Groznyy's Severnyy airport. He told ITAR-TASS that "I have complex feelings after the tour but many regions where people live are not in a bad state. It is necessary to ensure that all infrastructures work."

"The main thing, Semenov stressed, is that Groznyy residents are willing to work to restore their town."

'Organized Resistance' in Groznyy 'Crushed'

LD0602095695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0830 GMT 6 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozdok, 6 Feb—Last night, organized resistance by Dudayev's fighters was crushed in Groznyy's south-eastern section, namely in the Oktyabrskiy district and near Minutka Square. ITAR-TASS has also learned at the Russian Defense Ministry press center in Mozdok that there is no more organized resistance by Dudayev's fighters in the city. Only individual groups of fighters continue to operate there.

Russian Successes in Groznyy Detailed

LD0602112895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0951 GMT 6 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozdok, 6 Feb—Last night, organized resistance by Dudayev's fighters was crushed in Groznyy's south-eastern section, namely in the Oktyabrskiy district and near Minutka Square. ITAR-TASS has also learned at the Russian Defense Ministry press center in Mozdok that there is no more organized resistance by Dudayev's fighters in the city. Only individual groups of fighters continue to operate there.

The press center said that since 2300 last night [2000 GMT] until 0500, Dudayev's formations carried out several attacks on the federal troops' grouping under the command of Lieutenant General Vladimir Popov.

Units of a motorized regiment of the Urals military district killed about 100 militants during night battles, destroyed one tank, three APCs, one armored reconnaissance vehicle, and one mortar battery. Two other mortar batteries were suppressed. There has been no mention of casualties suffered by the federal troops.

A motorized regiment of the Moscow military district continued to take up positions on the south-western direction along roads used by militants for retreating. To date, the south and southeast of Groznyy have been fully blockaded by the federal troops, the press center said.

Units of the Western Group of federal troops under the command of Major General Ivan Babichev on Sunday evening took up positions 200 meters west and 1,003 meters south of the Sunzha River, cutting off the exit of fighters from the center of the town. Overnight, subunits and units of marines from the Pacific Ocean Fleet and of motorized riflemen made an assault crossing over the Sunzha River and by morning had blocked Minutka Square after taking a number of high buildings near the intersection between Lenin Prospect, Saydkhanov, and Pavel Musorov streets.

The Northern Group of federal forces under the command of Lieutenant General Lev Rokhlin dealt the main blow, which finally broke the opposition. Assault groups from Northern Fleet and paratrooper subunits occupied the group of high buildings in this area after launching sudden strikes from the north in the direction of Minutka Square in the evening and night.

The buildings adjoining Minutka Square, the press service says, formed the main stronghold in the town from where the movements of Dudayev's troops, their replenishment, and weapons provision were organized.

Troops 'Not Allowed' in Samashki

LD0302124995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nazran, Feb 3 (INTERFAX)—The Achkhoy-Martanovskiy district of western Chechnya will not allow Russian Interior Ministry troops to enter its towns and villages, including Achkhoy-Martan and Samashki, "to disarm, as the Russians put it, the illegally-formed armed groupings," district Governor Magomed Zelimkhanov and Dzhokhar Dudayev's emissary in the Achkhoy-Martanovskiy district Musa Merzhuyev told INTERFAX.

To add weight to what they said, Zelimkhanov and Merzhuyev cited cases of looting and humiliating practices in the village of Assinovskaya which the interior troops entered on agreement with the local elders.

They had no desire to see the same kind of things happen in their district, they said.

Chechen Elders Will Not Impede Troops

LD0302125395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1207 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Kharchenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok, North Ossetia, February 3 TASS—Elders of Chechnya's Shalinskiy, Vedeneyevskiy and Nozhay-Yurtobskiy regions have decided not to impede the advance of the federal troops through their territories, Chechen representatives told

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commanders of Russian interior units at a meeting which took place today in the Shalinskiy region.

Colonel Aleksandr Simonov, a spokesman for interior troops in Mozdok, speaking to TASS on Friday, cited residents of the village of Ivanovo, in northern outskirts of Groznyy, as saying that they supported measures taken by the Russian Government against separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev and his militants.

However villagers fear that their open support to federal troops might cause acts of revenge from Dudayevists, Colonel Simonov said.

Chechen Forces Shoot Down Su-25

LD0402134995 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1300 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At about 1030 today Chechen fighters for the first time during the present military actions succeeded in bringing down a Russian Su-25 combat aircraft near Groznyy. According to Western correspondents the aircraft was shot down during an air raid by fire from an antiaircraft gun. At the place where the aircraft came down the correspondents photographed the wreckage and Chechens holding the parachute of the dead pilot.

The Federal Air Search Service confirmed to us that a Russian aircraft did not return to base today.

Military Sources Confirm Downing of Su-25

LD0402163195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1614 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok February 4 TASS—Military sources in Mozdok confirmed on Saturday that a Russian Su-25 plane was shot down by Chechen militants over Groznyy earlier today.

They refused to provide details.

According to reports the plane was shot down from an anti-aircraft gun. The pilot is believed to have died.

This is the first reported incident of downing a Russian warplane since the outbreak of violence in Chechnya in December 1994.

Earlier today, the Russian Defence Ministry said it had no information about the incident, adding that all reports about it needed thorough examination.

Further on Downing of Su-25

LD0602100295 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0900 GMT 6 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation Army has subjected the northern outskirts of the town of Gudermes, 40 km east of Groznyy, to mass shelling, we were informed this morning in the Ingushetia operational headquarters. According to the same report, fierce fighting is under way between the federal troops and Chechen detachments in the area of Yermolovka village [stanitsa], not far from the capital.

Only insignificant clashes have been registered in Groznyy itself; no serious changes have occurred in the sides' positions. One can enter the city from the south only through the Novyy Aldy district. The main road through the suburb of Chernorechye is coming under incessant artillery shelling.

According to unconfirmed reports, which we were informed of in Nazran, the Russian Federation Su-25 aircraft, which was downed not far from Groznyy on 4 February, was shot down by mistake by Russian artillery.

No information on the events in the conflict zone has yet come in from official Russian sources today.

Dudayev's Groznyy Forces Estimated at 6,000

LD0302173495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1713 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—Russian troops are still preparing for the final seizure of the Chechen capital of Groznyy, however the task does not seem to be easy as some 6,000 heavily armed Chechen militants are fighting for the city, according to government estimates.

"According to reports of the command of federal troops in the Chechen Republic, Russian troops continued in the past 24 hours to prepare for the final stage of the combat operation in Groznyy", the government press service said on Friday. Reports about "preparations for final activities" in Groznyy has become often of late.

At the same time the press service quoted military reconnaissance data as saying that the forces of Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev total 15,000 men and are armed with some 35 tanks, 50 armoured vehicles, up to ten "Grad" rocket launchers and at least 40 artillery pieces and mortars. "Nearly 6,000 people participate in the fighting in Groznyy on Dudayev's side", the press service said.

Nearly 5,000 Chechen Fighters in Gudermes

LD0402115195 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Shelling of the southern suburbs of Groznyy and of other parts of the town where there are still illegal military groups continued last night and this morning. According to Ingushetia's Ministry for Emergency Situations, the fighting last night was mainly in the area of the bridge across the Sunzha River. Shelling of Minutka Square, the areas neighboring it and of the settlement of Chernorechye also continued. Sources in Ingushetia say that there has been no transfer of fighters

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to Gudermes, but Russian intelligence has information that about 5,000 fighters have been concentrated in the town.

Chechen Official Cited on POW Issue

LD0502124895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1142 GMT 5 Feb 95

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maysigov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nazran, 5 Feb—From now on "any issues concerning a release of Russian prisoners will be resolved in line with international norms, that is, after hostilities end." Aslan Maskhadov, chief of Dudayev's general staff, said this at a meeting in Groznyy on Saturday evening with State Duma Deputy Mark Feygin. The chief of staff explained the decision by the fact that allegedly "there is no reaction from the Russian military command to a proposal by the Chechen side to exchange prisoners, and officers propose an unfair exchange." At the same time, Maskhadov said, the Chechens will release captured wounded soldiers to their mothers.

Journalists from Samara, the deputy's native town, were present at the meeting. Mark Feygin, a member of the Duma's Russia's Choice parliamentary group who has returned from Groznyy to Nazran, today told an ITAR-TASS correspondent himself about his meeting.

Commander Refuses To Send Raw Recruits

LD0602124695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1212 GMT 6 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Belyakov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Samara February 6 TASS—A battalion commander from the Russian Volga Military District refused to take his untrained soldiers to Chechnya and can now be dismissed from the armed forces for that.

According to the press centre of the military district, Vladimir Ustichenko, an experienced Spetsnaz officer, offered to go to Chechnya himself even as an ordinary sniper, but refused to send young soldiers to the battlefield.

Ustichenko received the battalion right on New Year's Eve and its soldiers have not yet learned to fire and drive armoured vehicles. Besides, many of the 15 infantry fighting vehicles assigned to the battalion before departure to Chechnya were good only for scrap: Turrets of some of them did not turn, while radios were working only on three vehicles.

Now the officer is awaiting a decision of his command.

Nikolayev Cited on Muslim Mercenaries

LD0302155195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1523 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Yurkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—Three thousand Muslim mercenaries from Egypt, Jordan, Azerbaijan and other Islamic states are fighting on the side of Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, Andrey Nikolayev, director of the Russian Federal Border Service, told TASS on Friday adding that 5,000 frontier troops are guarding the Chechen border to prevent the mercenaries from penetrating into Russia.

He said Azeri mercenaries suffered numerous casualties while trying to recapture bridges over the Sunzha river in Groznyy which are guarded by Russian marines. At present the Azeris have been surrounded, but continue to fight.

Nikolayev quoted sources in the Russian counterintelligence service as saying each mercenary is monthly paid several thousand U.S. dollars and that 80 "soldiers of fortune" have been seized in combat.

According to Nikolayev, the "grey wolves" group of mercenaries from Azerbaijan is especially ferocious and fanatic in fighting. The semi-fascist organisation numbers 15,000 men in Azerbaijan and does not conceal its links with Turkish counterparts.

To prevent the mercenaries from getting into Russia, the frontier troops have created powerful groups reinforced with armour. "They are capable of fulfilling their tasks in protecting the southern part of the border (of Chechnya with Azerbaijan and Georgia) and ensure complete control over the situation in places of deployment", Nikolayev said.

Nikolayev Views Border Troops' Role

MK0402111095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 4 Feb 95 p 3

[Report by Yuriy Golotyuk under the "Caucasus" rubric: "Russia Fences Off Chechnya Using a 'Double Border.' There Will Be no Calm on Chechen Mountain Passes in Spring"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The training of the Russian border guards sent to the Chechen conflict area for work in the combat zone "began nearly seven months ago," your SEGODNYA correspondent was told by Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev, Russian Federal Border Service (FBS) director. The personnel of a Caucasus Special District separate border troops command whose mission is to police the border with Chechnya numbers between 4,500 and 5,000 men and officers today. It is reinforced by 10 motorized maneuver groups sent in to the Caucasus from Kaliningrad, and Russia's northern, Far Eastern, and Transbaykal borders. All in all, considering the policing of the regions contiguous to Chechnya, taking care of sealing off the conflict zone on the territory of the Caucasus Special Border District are 31,000 men and officers who have at their disposal 266 armored vehicles, 34 planes and helicopters, and 53 ships and small surface craft.

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As early as 26 November, border units deployed in the Northern Caucasus were pressed into the enhanced guarding of state borders. As of 1 December, the Caucasus Special Border District was put on heightened combat alert, and on full combat alert as of 11 December. Added to 34 border posts already there along Russia's borders with Georgia and Azerbaijan were 32 temporary ones. Under an understanding reached with the contiguous states bordering on the conflict zone, the borders were sealed from those states' side. On the Georgian leadership's decision, the national border troops were placed on "heightened" combat alert, and joint operation options in the Chechen and Dagestan sectors were studied. Azerbaijan tightened the entry-exit arrangements on the borders with Iran and Turkey.

In mid-December, in compliance with a Russian Federation Security Council decision, border troops reached the designated border lines in their "zones of responsibility," two of which are in Dagestan, one of which is in Ingushetia. This event marked the beginning of an entirely new type of guarding of Russia's borders: guarding them along two lines. The first line runs along the CIS' external border with Turkey and Iran, and the second runs along Russia's border with Georgia and Azerbaijan.

Mr. Nikolayev told your SEGODNYA correspondent that "the situation in the areas of Ingushetia and Dagestan bordering on Chechnya tends to worsen as the federal troops continue military operations." In the words of the FBS director, residents of the localities which "suffered very much from combat operations" (Assinovskaya, Samashki, and Sernovodskaya, among others) are hostile to all Russians wearing military uniform, border guards included. "But our mission is to disarm all who cross Chechnya's border without having the right to regardless of their nationality: be he Chechen, Ingush or Russian," the colonel general explained.

Mr. Nikolayev vouched that border guards are prepared to open a checkpoint in the "Groznyy-Severnyy" airport now controlled by Federal forces. Naturally, as soon as it has been sufficiently repaired to enable flights. Border troops tasked with sealing the Chechen border also await their hour in Vladikavkaz. The 81-km stretch of the Russian-Georgian border running across Chechnya's territory still remains "open." Border forces are not moving the already formed groups of their personnel there avoiding unnecessary losses. First, such groups are all too easy to be cut off from the main units and destroyed in mountain terrain conditions. Second, because this border is sealed in the south by Georgian special subunits. And last, third, because snow is 1.5 to 2 meters deep on the mountain passes of that section of the border, and serious forces cannot be either moved in or out of Chechnya by that route. "We expect heightened combat operations there beginning mid-April or end of May after the passes are free of snow," the FBS director says. "By that time, the Chechen war may go over to a guerrilla stage and "spill over" to neighboring Caucasus regions."

Already at this stage, however, border troops in the Caucasus are beginning to sustain their first losses. Three border guards (two officers and one contract-service sergeant) died there (the Cossack village of Assinovskaya). Three more were wounded: one by a mortar shell fragment, and two walked into a booby trap consisting of a string tied to the release pins of two hand grenades.

Lebed Criticizes Grachev, Calls For Pullout

BR0302145495 Paris PARIS MATCH in French 9 Feb 95 pp 58-59

[Report on interview with Russia's Aleksandr Lebed, general of 14th Army Corps, by Michel Peyrard; place and date not given: "On the Chechnya Front We Realized That Our Leaders Were Mad"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] "I told them that I was willing to capture that wretched city. Provided I was given a regiment entirely composed of the sons of those politicians who, from their lofty positions in the Kremlin, decide to go to war as if it were a fishing trip. They declined the offer. Henceforth, there is no choice but to follow the path laid down by the Americans in Vietnam: To declare the Chechens the victors and pack our bags. And to move on..."

General Aleksandr Lebed's pale eyes glowed a little more brightly. Those who know him well will tell you that it is his way of smiling. Despite appearances—what comes to mind is a cross between a gorilla and a bulldog, even if his name means "swan" in Russian—the very powerful boss of the 14th Russian Army corps does not show his feelings. At a time when Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has no hesitation in punishing his generals for trying to put down the rebellion which is brewing in the Army, nothing annoys Gen. Aleksandr Lebed so much as reminding him of the statement by the minister to whom he is answerable predicting, on the eve of the conflict, that he would "settle the Chechen problem in two hours with a regiment of paratroopers." "Grachev is undoubtedly a wise man," Gen. Lebed said sarcastically. "Perhaps even the best defense minister of all time: He has succeeded by barbaric bombing raids in turning indifferent civilians into fanatical soldiers. The result is that not only we have not won this war, but, if we do not pull out as quickly as possible, we will make the disaster worse." He is too careful to raise the stakes in this way without being in a position of strength. He is the undoubted star of an Army in which 70 percent of the officers support him as future defense minister, and he has made an impressive entrance into the political opinion polls. Here too, Lebed, whose intelligence is recognized by everybody, has succeeded in covering his tracks. Whereas the conservatives would like to see him seeking the investiture alongside Aleksander Rutskoy in next year's presidential elections, the democrats, whose support he also enjoys, dream of a Lebed-Yavlinskiy ticket pairing him with the liberal economist who is currently the only candidate who has declared himself. For the time being, the general is refraining from any comment. By way of an answer, his huge hand, which just now crushed my fingers in welcome, suddenly seized a piece of paper lying on the corner of his desk. It was a

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victory communique. Reading between the lines, the rebel general has just won a decisive battle in the fight to the death which has been going on for months between Lebed and the defense minister. The commission of inquiry which, at the minister's instigation, inspected his 14th Army Corps for two weeks, left empty-handed. The communique drawn up by the inspector general even openly praises the quality of Aleksandr Lebed's command. For Pavel Grachev, accused both of incompetence in the Chechen crisis and corruption—there is widespread talk in Moscow of his limousines which have earned him the nickname of "Lord Mercedes"—it is a new setback. And for the rebel general, it is the definitive proof of his invulnerability. Already the Moscow press sees him as "the future De Gaulle whom Russia needs and who will be able to end the war in the Caucasus just as De Gaulle ended the war in Algeria."

Although he is concentrating his fire on "Lord Mercedes," Gen. Lebed does not spare Boris Yeltsin. Last summer, he publicly described him as "useless." He has not changed his view: "A president under influence is no longer 'the' president. He is failing in his first duty which is to guarantee the country's stability. In Moscow today, power is being usurped by a small group for whom the Chechen fiasco is only the latest blunder." This criticism comes on top of that of the Democrats who now openly condemn a Boris Yeltsin who is weakened and ill, who has become a vulgar puppet within his entourage. The Russian president, whose irascibility is legendary, nonetheless reacted to the affront. Shortly after Lebed described him as "useless," a decree signed by the Russian president ordered the imminent dissolution of the 14th Army Corps. The tough officer simply refused to obey orders. And Yeltsin had to back down expressing his profound respect for this general, "the only soldier who was able to eliminate a hotbed of tension in one of the 'nearby foreign' countries." (The Dniester region, on the border of Moldova where the 14th Army Corps is stationed—PARIS MATCH editor's note). Yeltsin probably calculated that it was in his interests to keep the very popular officer active in the provinces rather than idle in Moscow in a Defense Ministry in ferment. This is also the view of Aleksandr Lebed: "After all, why should Yeltsin not value me? I am not acting against him. The best proof of my loyalty to the president is that I am still in the Dniester region, which cannot even be described as being on the outskirts of Russia. Indeed, I prefer to be top man here than 77th in Moscow." [passage omitted describing Dniester region]

Since then, the Russian-speaking people in the enclave have been devoted to their "Regent," as he is sometimes called, and although the Moldovans themselves want the 14th Army Corps to leave, they would prefer to see this honest man remain at the helm until then.

Aleksandr Lebed is not content to be the "upright officer who places military honor above all else," which Boris Yeltsin describes in his memoirs. He, who does not drink, does not smoke, and hates racketeering—in other words he is atypical on the new Russian political scene—has managed better than anybody to focus the aspirations of a disorientated Army, stifled by the budget cuts and eaten into by corruption. This probably explains the veritable adulation which his officers and soldiers feel for him. "I can only see two historical figures who are on the same level as him, Colonel Baranov, one of his deputies, exclaimed enthusiastically: Suvorov and Zhukov! It is therefore no coincidence that a portrait of the former, a great military leader in Czarist Russia, adorns the waiting room outside Lebed's office, and that Lebed never fails to stress his admiration for the latter, the only officer to have opposed Stalin. However, the Army rabble constantly clearing up any dust in the streets of the headquarters in Tiraspol, leans more toward "Stallone or Schwarzenegger." All are aware of being privileged. Aleksandr Lebed has no hesitation in demanding—even in the corridors of the Defense Ministry—that his men be given a decent wage. "The 37,000 billion rubles which we have been given instead of the 85,000 billion requested, he explained, are not even enough to buy belts for our soldiers' trousers." This is a view which obviously does not relate to the 14th Army Corps whose impeccable uniforms contrast with the scruffy uniforms of the Moscow soldiers. "If our men are well paid," Gen. Lebed said, "it is because they deserve it."

This exception is noticeable within an institution which is in the throes of an unprecedented moral, budgetary, and technological crisis. The high-ranking officers, who in the past were particularly pampered, observe that their pay is now lower than the salary of the most junior employee in a fashionable restaurant in the capital, the suicide rate among conscripts is breaking records, and only 30 percent of the arms used in Chechnya were apparently really operational. The Groznyy fiasco has therefore been revealing. The question is who will pay the price: the politicians or the military?

The initiative at present still rests with the former. Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has announced that three of his deputy ministers who, alongside Aleksandr Lebed were among the first to condemn the intervention in Chechnya, have been placed on "indefinite leave." They include the very popular General Gromov, former head of the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, under whose orders Grachev and Lebed served. As for General Eduard Vorobyev, who refused to head the operation against Groznyy, he is now in the hands of Russian counterespionage in a Moscow hospital where he is forbidden all contact with his peers. Boris Yeltsin has also "accepted" his resignation. Other sanctions should follow, in the field this time, but for Grachev, the colorless defense minister who heads general staffs much more experienced than him only thanks to his servility, there is a real risk.

Aleksandr Lebed, at all events, has not lowered his guard. "It is not well-known that I was formerly a good boxer in the heavyweight class," he said massaging his nose. I even wavered between sport and the military as careers. The experience was useful to me: From boxing I learned to return blow for blow."

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With the quiet assurance of an officer who has been under fire, he hammered home his creed: "We are the state's armed wing, and because the state is sick I see no remedy but us."

[Peyrard] Do many of you think that?

[Lebed] Very many, in all parts of the country. And we discuss it every day. [Lebed ends]

The pale blue eyes were smiling more than ever. For Gen. Aleksandr Lebed the end is close: "In Afghanistan I learned that our leaders were not infallible. But in Chechnya, we all learned that their irresponsibility bordered on madness."

This opinion is now shared by the majority in Russia. While the defeat in Afghanistan contributed greatly to the collapse of the Soviet empire, the Chechen fiasco could one day prove fatal to Boris Yeltsin's reign.

Lebed Scores 'Unplanned War'

AU0502190795 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 4-5 Feb 95 p 11

[Henriette Schroeder report: "At Least One Person Should Be Sober"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tiraspol, end of January—He loves Lermontov and classical music. He quotes Goethe and Schiller. He does not smoke and he does not drink: "At least one person in the country should be sober." He does not believe in God, and people who are not afraid are idiots in his opinion. Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed, the Russian general who is the subject of much talk lately—in the East in the Kremlin, in the West in the media—is sitting like a monolith behind his cleared desk. On the wall behind him there is the Russian flag; at the upper end of the flag pole the insignias of the former Soviet empire: the hammer and sickle as well as the five-point star, have been etched in fine metal. The general does not reveal his thoughts with a single flicker of his eyelids. Only his eyes sometimes show irony or impatience.

The 14th Army commander, one of the most outspoken military critics of the massacre in Chechnya, leans forward and says solemnly: "Most of the fallen in Groznyy are 18- or 20-year old boys, who had not had a real life. If one dies, the entire world dies with him." Aleksandr Ivanovich, the two-star general, considered a presidential candidate for the 1996 elections by some circles, likes to answer in flowery metaphors. Lebed, allegedly trusted by three-fourths of the entire Russian Army, is a gifted populist and demagogic patriot. In his appearances, he is a mixture of Napoleon and tribune. He never omits to recall the Russian heritage. "There are many things of which the Russians can be proud, and I am sure that the world will often be surprised." Almost threateningly, he continues: "For the West it would be good to remember that, under pressure, Slav resistance becomes 10 times stronger."

"The Mass Grave of Groznyy"

Lebed, 44, has left himself quite exposed with his criticism of those in the Kremlin responsible for the war in Chechnya. Asked about this, his face becomes somber and his mood clearly deteriorates. Bombs and tanks are no way to reestablish the constitutional order, he notes critically. Lebed's criticism of the Russian Army's military actions in Chechnya has only deepened the quarrel between him and Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, his boyhood friend and former fellow-fighter in Afghanistan. "Anyone who wants to win must plan how victory can be achieved most quickly. We have embarked upon an unplanned war. The result is that the town of Groznyy is now a mass grave," he says and nervously moves his legs. However, he is smart enough to cover himself: "Grachev's current political activities can be assessed only by the people and the Army. It is certainly not easy for him." He criticizes Yeltsin in the same vein: "He has led the country directly to a political and economic abyss. I have not analyzed anything more. It would not be right of me to criticize my supreme commander."

Chaos and Humiliations

Aleksandr Ivanovich is no friend of perestroyka. He holds the failed reform policy responsible for the crumbling of the Soviet Union, for economic misery, social suffering, regional wars, and the people's bitterness. With this he is speaking from the heart of many Russians. "The mistakes of the old systems were child's babble compared with the chaos in which we live now. Therefore, many people, in particular older ones and those who live in social misery, feel nostalgic for the 'good old' times. Russians no longer want to wait for the results of 'democratic reforms' anymore, because they do not see any light at the end of the tunnel anyway."

General Lebed is not only a Russian patriot but also a Greater Russian nationalist. The events in 1991 led to the crumbling of the Soviet Union; the current political situation accelerates the crumbling of Russia, he complains. Thus, a strong, centralist power in Moscow is missing, which keeps the country together without the influence of "too many advisers." "We have as many presidents as we have filth. And Dudayev is the filthiest of them all."

Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed is primarily a man of the Army. He holds perestroyka and glasnost responsible also for the disastrous situation of the Russian Army. "Since the beginning of perestroyka, the unified system of our state's armed protection has fallen apart. It is not easy to glue the shards of a broken jug together again."

In the past the Army was the country's pride. Today it is badly trained, badly paid, badly housed, and badly supplied. General Lebed sees giving the Russian Army honor and reputation in society again as one of his most important tasks. He sees the war against Chechnya as another humiliation for the Russian soldiers. "It is one thing if a comrade leaves him in the lurch. However, it is much worse if the soldiers are betrayed by their commander and

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society. One can never win over such soldiers. Many of them prefer imprisonment over death in the battlefield," General Lebed says.

Aleksandr Ivanovich is a father figure and a model for the members of the 14th Army in Tiraspol. He is cultivating this image. thus, he has his own television station in Transdniestr, which broadcasts not only army movies for four hours, three times a week, but also does "court reporting" for the general. There he can be seen in uniform laying a wreath, working the crowd on Saturdays, and inaugurating a kindergarten. Says Aleksandr Ivanovich: "Children, eat a lot of pap so that you become good soldiers." Every morning at 0700 the tired and visibly bored soldiers are forced to watch "their" general's television for 20 minutes after morning sports. For some weeks the 14th Army has also had its own radio station and has been publishing an army newspaper.

Tiraspol is the capital of the "Dniestr Republic," which has not been recognized by any country. Here there are two "governors": Igor Smirnov, the old Stalinist and self-proclaimed "president," and Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Army, who is stationed here. Aleksandr Ivanovich received this posting in 1992. At that time a civil war between the national communist Transdniestrian separatists under today's "President" Igor Smirnov and the Moldovans had broken out. The "Dniestr Republic" had seceded from the newly independent Republic of Moldova under the pretense that the republic pursued reunification with Romania. Aleksandr Lebed put an end to the bloody fighting within a few days.

The 14th Army, one of the last major military units on former Russian territory, is considered excellently organized and trained. The warhorse Aleksandr Lebed has a lot for his soldiers' self-esteem. Large parts of the civilian population also appreciate his presence as protection against Smirnov's secret police, who are terrorizing the people on the narrow strip of land. In this remote part of the world, Lebed rules over 7,700 men. Moscow is 1,000 km away. Is it enough for Aleksandr Ivanovich to be celebrated as a local hero in Tiraspol and perhaps spend another few years here, on the "side track," or does he feel a calling to higher things? His answer is, as usual, of opaque charm: "At the moment I am the commander of the 14th Army. Nothing more and nothing less. Everything else will be decided by the Russian people."

If Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed is tired in the evening, he leans back in his chair and puts his feet up on the table. Then he asks one of his well-read advisers, from whose treasure of literary quotations he benefits on other occasions, to read "Faust" to him.

Rokhlin Comments on Grachev, Conflict

95UM0244A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, Feb 95 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Lev Yakovlevich Rokhlin, commander of the northern group in Chechnya, by Natalya Baturina, Groznyy-Volgograd; place and date not given: "Corps Commander Rokhlin: 'The Afghan War Was an Outing...'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We were in Groznyy at the end of January. When, according to the words of President Yeltsin, it was 10 days since the war had ended... On the night of 30 January, the Dudayev side announced "a night of retribution" over the radio.

The place we were is called the command post of the operations directorate of the northern group. The group is commanded by Lieutenant General Lev Yakovlevich Rokhlin.

He is talked about most of all today. Some have already said that he is sending people to death for the sake of his ambitions. Others call him the new General Yermolov and a Hero of Russia.

[Rokhlin] Here I was recommended for the title of Hero of Russia. I turned it down, and I will turn it down no matter how many times it is recommended. This is a civil war. But in that first civil war, senior officers of the White Army did not receive decorations.

A promotion? Career? Earlier I was also offered prestigious assignments as well, including those associated with a transfer to Moscow. I also refused this. I want to live and serve in Volgograd.

[Baturina] But decorations for soldiers and other officers?

[Rokhlin] As many as possible. The men have earned it.

[Baturina] For what reason and how did this war start?

[Rokhlin] I am not a politician—I am a military man. But the politicians—this is the mafia. At first, they needed Chechnya in order to do business in oil and arms. They watched for several years how Dudayev was arming himself. No one said then how Dudayev was executing his own Chechens on the squares. Now, they send troops to "disarm the illegal bandit formations." They did not think how this would turn out. I know from Afghanistan that there was not one bandit who gave up power without the use of force.

[Baturina] What do you think of Grachev?

[Rokhlin] A power struggle is going on, and in this struggle Grachev personally does not interest anyone.

[Baturina] You were in Afghanistan, can it be compared with what is occurring in Chechnya?

[Rokhlin] The Afghan war was an outing in comparison with what is happening here.

[Baturina] Speaking of the cruelty of the Dudayevites, do you have in mind the battle for the Council of Ministers building?

[Rokhlin] Not only. I have everything in mind. When we were taking this building, one of our dead or wounded soldiers was hanging in each window. Why are the human rights defenders not talking about this?

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[Baturina] Is it true that our prisoners are fighting on Dudayev's side?

[Rokhlin] It is true. But threats are the reason for this, and bribery and something else—I do not know. Sometimes they come out of captivity and work as Dudayev's scouts. There was everything here.

The Dudayev side used the armistice not only to bury those who were killed and to help the wounded, but also to regroup their forces and strike us.

[Baturina] What do you fear?

[Rokhlin] Lies. If the truth is not known, I do not know how we will be able to return to Volgograd. And I do not know whether the people want to know the truth about our army in general and about my corps in particular.

The Dudayev propaganda is working at full power and more effectively than ours. Everyone picks up their words about the fact that in our 8th Guards Corps the losses number dozens of thousands. But here are the official data. As of 30 January, there had been 140 persons killed. Of these, 30 were officers, six were warrant officers, and 104 were soldiers and sergeants. Four hundred and ninety-seven persons were wounded. Soldiers and sergeants—363, warrant officers—11, and officers—123.

I am not hiding anything. I bow low to the mothers, and I ask their forgiveness.

Part of Dudayev's Personal Archive Seized

LD0202192095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1623 GMT 2 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 2 (Interfax)—The federal troops have seized a part of the personal archive of Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev.

To confirm this information, the commander of the Russian group of troops in Chechnya, General Anatoliy Kulikov, showed a news conference in Moscow Thursday a letter from State Duma deputy Magomed Tolboyev dated February 2, 1994 where he offered Dudayev help "on the State Duma level".

According to the documents, Dudayev was offered similar assistance by one of Ukraine's nationalist organizations. In his letter, a representative of the organization advised Dudayev "not to economize money."

Speaking on the future of the documents, Kulikov said all of them were "being worked on."

A well-informed source told Interfax that the documents featured very popular names. However, they could not yet be published without a graphology expert's evaluation.

Kulikov said the armed forces will help the interior troops in Chechnya until conditions are created for their independent activity. "We will move slowly, but in an confident fashion," he said referring to the republic's southern districts controlled by pro-Dudayev militants.

Kulikov was bewildered about attempts to bring discredit upon the army's actions in Chechnya. "It is the power structures which fight for observing human rights in this republic," he remarked.

Kulikov reported a case of pillage by three interior servicemen in Chechnya. All of them will face a criminal trial, he said.

Shift of War to 'Hinterland' Threatened

LD0402130995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1133 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Cairo, 4 Feb—Aslan Maskhadov, the self-styled defense minister of the Chechen Republic, has issued a threat to transfer hostilities from Chechnya to the Russian hinterland. An interview with him is published today in the Egyptian newspaper AL-HAYAT.

"The Chechens will continue the hostilities and will spread the war to the Russian towns and villages adjacent to the borders of Chechnya," he declared. In so doing, he said, Dudayev's supporters intended to draw on "the experience of the mojahedin's struggle against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan." [passage omitted]

Dudayev Associates Given False Passports

LD0402144695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1338 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOZDOK (North Ossetia), Feb 4 (Interfax)—Dzhokhar Dudayev's close aides and relatives have received false Russian passports, initially issued for other persons, a well-placed source has reported to Interfax. With such counterfeit papers they intend to disappear in North Caucasus as refugees.

Part of Dudayev's loyalists has already moved to the Krasnodar region, where, according to competent bodies, they have set up clandestine bases. A power department representative links the shifting of Dudayev bases to Russia's southern regions with the intention to keep control over the export of oil through the terminals at the ports of Novorossiysk and Tuapse.

By some information, law enforcement bodies have evidence by which the true holders of the fake documents can be identified.

Shelling in Ingushetia Said Increasing

LD0402131195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1120 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozdok, 4 Feb—Federal troops today continued to force Dudayev's fighters out of the southern and southeastern parts of Groznyy. A representative of the Russian Interior Ministry troops' press service, Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Simonov, told

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ITAR-TASS that there are up to 5,500 fighters in Groznyy. They have 10 tanks, and their task is to put up a sustained defense and delay the advance of the federal troops.

Aleksandr Simonov also said that Dudayev's regime is inciting the population of neighboring Dagestan and Ingushetia to carry out provocations against the federal troops, which are sealing Chechnya's administrative borders. The press center representative also said that servicemen are being fired upon from these republics and that Russian servicemen are being provoked into returning fire. Dudayev's side aims to drag Dagestan and Ingushetia into the fighting.

Adding to this picture, the ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maysigov reported from Nazran that according to Ingushetia's government task force, federal troops have over the past few days stepped up their shelling of Ingush territory. For the second day now the village of Bamut in Sunzhenskiy [center: Ordzhonikidzevskaya] Rayon of Ingushetia has been continuously shelled. At the Republic of Ingushetia's Interior Ministry the ITAR-TASS correspondent was told that at 0900 hours today the village of Gazi-Yurt in the Nazranovskiy [center: Nazran] Rayon of Ingushetia situated on the Rostov-Baku highway, was subjected to small-arms fire. According to eyewitnesses, the firing came from Russian servicemen who were travelling in a convoy along the road from the direction of Chechnya toward Vladikavkaz. There are no dead or wounded according to preliminary information.

Yushenkov Says War 'Crime Against Humanity'

LD0602085395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0816 GMT 6 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bonn February 5 TASS—Over 20,000 people have been killed in the Chechen conflict, Russian Duma Defence Committee Chairman Sergey Yushenkov said.

"How many more casualties will it take for the West to realise its responsibility for what is going on there?" Yushenkov asked as he addressed a two-day security forum that ended in Munich on Sunday.

The Chechen conflict stopped being Russia's internal matter long ago. It has since "assumed the scale of a crime against humanity," he said.

Yushenkov stressed that Russian democrats do not call for economic sanctions against Russia. At the same time, he urged "selective measures of punishment" for it.

He also informed the attendees about Russia's concern about NATO's plans of expansion to the east. He warned that this may cause the feeling that the West is seeking to isolate Russia and provoke an outburst of anti-Western sentiments in the country.

Yushenkov pointed out that the strengthening of the Western European Union would be more acceptable to Russia. "This is explained by psychological reasons," he said.

Borovoy Comments on Meeting With Dudayev

LD0402211595 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Feb 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Konstantin Borovoy, chairman of the Economic Freedom Party, had an unofficial meeting with Dzhokhar Dudayev on 2 February. Our correspondent Sergey Milyanchikov follows in the meeting's footsteps.

[Begin recording] [Milyanchikov] Konstantin Antonovich, you had a meeting with Dudayev. At present the media do not have an opportunity to talk to Dudayev and there are all sorts of rumors: That Dudayev has already fled Chechen territory, that he is in the Baltics or in Ingushetia, or God knows where outside the Russian borders.

[Borovoy] I can state that I had a meeting with Dudayev near Groznyy, not in the center of hostilities, but 50 km away. He is in a difficult mood because he thinks that he may be unable to control this wave of anger and indignation of the Chechen people: Among those who are involved in the military actions, among those who are being killed, there are people who do not think that human rights should be observed [in the fight against] an army that is not observing human rights.

[Milyanchikov] Is he able to stop the military actions and call on his people to lay down arms?

[Borovoy] Dudayev has a 100 percent control over the military actions. At present they possess highly-qualified military experts trained both in the Soviet and Russian armies. They possess excellent equipment that they are seizing literally every day. Also, they possess such reserves of military equipment that will make it possible, if need be, to carry out military actions for another 10 years. [end recording]

Map Shows Dudayev's 'Main Base' in South

MM0602102695 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Feb 95 p 1

[Report by Sergey Ovsiyenko: "Southern Chechnya Becomes Bandits' Base"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Dudayev formations that have been squeezed by federal troops in northern Chechnya are heading south, where they had equipped in advance defensive positions, bases, weapons dumps, alternate command posts....

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI has in its possession a map which, according to intelligence from the Russian Border Troops,

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indicates these positions as well as border subunits and temporary posts that have closed the Chechen border with Ingushetia and Dagestan.

Clearly, southern Chechnya has become Dudayev's main base. There are approximately 16,800 well-armed and well-equipped gunmen there with access to "Grad" multiple rocket launchers, air-defense systems, and even modern T-80 tanks.... It is time to be talking not of groups of gunmen but of a regular army that has been trained by Dudayev and his hired instructors for three years. Incidentally, according to the same intelligence information, up to 3,000 mercenaries from the Near East and Afghanistan are fighting on Dudayev's side.

The triangular flags and broad lines on the map indicate border subunits and temporary posts on Dagestani and Ingushetian territory. So-called pro-Dudayev people's militia groups are located in the population center of Nozhay-Yurt on Dagestani territory.

Aushev Rejects Reunification With Chechnya

LD0302142895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1336 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 3 Feb—Ingush Republic President Ruslan Aushev does not support the idea of combining Chechnya and Ingushetia into a single republic, as was once the case. In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent today, he once again rejected the claim by Russian Vice President Sergey Shakhray that Dudayev was in Ingushetia "under his protection."

"Shakhray is a peculiar politician who speaks of constitutionality yet also talks about merging Chechnya and Ingushetia, even though both republics are written into the constitution as being independent," Aushev said. Observing that the Ingush and Chechens belonged to "the same Vaynakh people," he asked: "Can't two brothers live in different houses?"

The head of Ingushetia thinks that "since it has had its own status, his republic has begun to develop much more energetically."

More on Aushev's 'Objections'

LD0302192795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1843 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 3 (Interfax)—The president of the Russian republic of Ingushetia, Ruslan Aushev, said on Friday a decree by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to extend a state of emergency in areas in the part of North Ossetia where clashes between Ingush and Ossetians took place in 1992 "doesn't mean a thing."

"None of the previous similar decrees have been enforced..., and neither has the decree which expired several days ago (on January 31)," Aushev told reporters in Moscow.

So it is not a "big tragedy" that the Russian parliament's upper house, of which he is a member, was unable to consider the decree on Friday due to lack of a quorum, the Ingush leader said.

He again voiced objections to expanding the state of emergency zone to part of Ingushetia.

Aushev complained that the Moscow-appointed governor of the state of emergency zone, Vladimir Lozovoy, had not visited Ingushetia a single time in the past two months.

"None of my proposals (for Moscow) to radically change (its) policy in the zone of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict get accepted," Aushev continued. He said replies to his proposals came from Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray. "I consider him the ideologue of the entire policy that is being pursued in the North Caucasus and the tragedy that is happening there," Aushev charged.

He described a proposal by Shakhray for reunifying Ingushetia and Chechnya as a case of "political moronity." "How can a deputy premier of Russia, on the basis of the opinion of some unnamed leaders of the Chechen Republic based in Moscow, ignore the Constitution of the Russian Federation, which mentions the Ingush Republic?" Aushev queried angrily.

"The Ingush and Chechens are brothers, but brothers can live in their own homes and nevertheless remain brothers," he said. Since it became a separate republic, Ingushetia "has been developing far more dynamically that it was when it was part of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic," he said.

Aushev Blasts North Caucasus Leaders' Stance

MK0402094095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 4 Feb 95 p 2

[Report by Yelena Tregubova under the "Appeal" rubric: "Ruslan Aushev Sees Boris Yeltsin as 'Father of All Peoples.' 'No One But Him Can Stop the Caucasus War'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ingushetia President Ruslan Aushev, speaking with journalists yesterday, expressed his assurance yet another time that "certain forces in Moscow are interested in seeing the armed conflict in Chechnya spill over into all of the North Caucasus." He would not name the supporters of these "forces," mentioning only Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray's recent attacks on the Ingush leadership. Ruslan Aushev complained that all his other counterparts—the heads of North Caucasus republics—"are sticking to a mistaken theory that the flame of war will not affect them." "All North Caucasus republics are extremely dependent on the Center, and they are fearful of not getting anything from Moscow if they do not show loyalty," Ruslan Aushev said. "But they should realize: the danger that a large Caucasus war will be unleashed in the very near future is extremely acute."

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However, he admitted, even if all the heads of the North Caucasus republics "managed to reach agreement and unanimously speak up against the war," this would have anyway been "a voice of reason which may or may not be heard."

"Presently everything depends on Boris Yeltsin. The president is the father of all peoples, and he alone can stop the Caucasus war," Ruslan Aushev said.

'Situation' in Ingushetia 'Deteriorating'

LD0502163295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1441 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 5 (Interfax)—The situation in Ingushetia is deteriorating and the region could become a source of tension in the near future, a well-informed source in the Russian Defense Ministry told Interfax today.

The same source failed to say in detail how the situation in Ingushetia close to Chechnya was deteriorating.

The same source said that the situation in Chechnya had not significantly changed during the last hours. He said federal troops continued to free Groznyy from illegal bandit formations.

Ingush Official Warns Against Bombing

LD0602114795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1039 GMT 6 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maisigov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nazran February 6 TASS—A high-ranking police official of Ingushetia, which borders on Chechnya, warned Russian military authorities that if they continue to bomb Ingushi settlements their residents may turn to the side of Chechen militants and hostilities would spread also to Ingushetia.

"The shelling of Ingushi settlements by federal troops can provoke the involvement of Ingushetia into the zone of combat activities", Deputy Interior Minister Ruslan Pliyev told TASS on Monday.

Russian troops several times bombed Ingushi border settlements saying that Chechen militants had sheltered there. Chechens and Ingushis are close ethnic kin.

Last week Ingushi Vice-President Boris Agapov warned that military activities in Chechnya can spread to the entire North Caucasus.

He said the Ingushi people were unjustly suspected by the Russian military of backing Chechnya's separatist ambitions and warned that such an attitude may trigger protests in Ingushetia.

Ingushi draftees have already refused to serve in the Russian Army in protest against its actions in Chechnya. Most of them have already been sent back from army units to Ingushetia. Ingushi soldiers do not take part in the military operations launched by Russia to end the Chechen three-year independence drive.

'Activists' in Nalchik Support Chechnya

LD0502165095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1534 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nalchik (Kabardino-Balkaria), Feb 5 (INTERFAX)—Although the police blocked the building of the Congress of the Kabardinian People on Sunday, about 300 activists of the Kabardinian National Movement gathered in front of the building for a traditional meeting in support of Chechnya.

Valery Khatazhukov, the leader of the Kabardinian National Movement Adyge Khase, told Interfax that the protesters' demands remained the same: "complete withdrawal of the federal troops from the Chechen territory and the beginning of talks with the Chechen authorities, led by Dudayev, on ways of normalizing the situation."

The demonstrators also demand that the ban on meetings, demonstrations and pickets, imposed in December 1994 until the stabilization of the situation in the North Caucasus, be lifted.

Vorkuta Miners Set To Strike 6 Feb

LD0302180995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1752 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vorkuta, the Komi Republic, February 3 TASS—Vorkuta miners will go on a one-day warning strike on February 6 because of non-payment of salaries for the past few months.

The miners demand that the government pay the debt in accordance with the 1994 branch tariff agreements.

LDPR Preparing for Elections in Udmurtia

MK0302145095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Provincial Chronicle" column]

[FBIS Translated Text] Izhevsk—Elections to the State Council are soon to be held in Udmurtia. Vladimir Pavlov, chief editor of the NEDELYA UDMURTII weekly, said the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] is ready to allot 1.5 billion rubles for the election campaign. According to him, the party leadership has drafted a contract with the paper on providing 10 pages for the publication of its election campaign materials. If the contract is signed, the LDPR intends to field candidates in all of Udmurtia's 100 constituencies.

Khakass Parliament Adopts Draft Constitution

LD0502105495 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the 15th session of the Khakass Supreme Soviet, which has ended in Abakan, deputies adopted the draft of the main law of this republic in

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the second reading. During a debate, at the request of the majority, the statement in the preamble that Khakass [Khakassiya] is a state within the Russian Federation was substituted with the words "the Khakass Republic is a component part of the Russian Federation."

Economic Issues

Chechen Economy, Life-Support System Being Restored

LD0202214395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2110 GMT 2 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—The Russian Government's press service released on Thursday night a report on the current situation in Chechnya. The report reads as follows:

"The Russian Government's operational staff met in a regular conference on Thursday under the chairmanship of First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets. Participants in the meeting summed up results of the government's activity in rehabilitating the Chechen economy and life-support systems.

Also discussed at the meeting was health care, medicine and sanitary support of the population in the Chechen Republic and adjacent territories, as well as a report of the working group of enterprises and organizations financing and organizing food supplies and reconstruction work in Chechnya.

It was noted at the meeting that since its establishment, the operational staff had held 11 meetings on most pressing issues. Over 50 decisions were taken to implement the documents adopted by the staff. Most of these decisions have already been fulfilled, which helped achieve the top-priority tasks:

Railway traffic returned to normal at the Ishcherskaya-Chervlennay-Uzlovaya section. About 230 km of railway tracks were restored. Railway troops demined 49 km of them. The Groznyy- Severnyy airport is now being reconstructed. Motor-roads and bridges are being repaired, water and gas supply systems in populated areas are being put into a renewed operation.

The Russian Ministry for Emergencies, in conjunction with other agencies, delivers the badly needed basic goods to the republic according to the agreed upon schedule. The Russian Finance Ministry has allocated 61 bln roubles to render humanitarian assistance. Over 2,900 tons of humanitarian aid have been delivered to the region. The distribution of this aid among the needy is under strict control.

Two module hospitals, with 190-bed capacity each, now operate in the conflict zone. Treatment-and-prophylactic services in towns and settlements provides the necessary medical assistance to refugees and forced migrants. Medical workers have established 13 admission and evacuation stations where migrants gather in great amounts, and take measures to prevent epidemics.

As of February 2, the Russian Federal Migration Service's divisions registered some 183,000 people who fled the armed conflict zone. All those who turned to the Migration Service's divisions were granted a lump-sum assistance and free tickets to places of their permanent or temporary residence.

In regions neighbouring on the Chechen Republic, special facilities were prepared to accommodate the elderly and disabled from the conflict zone. The Russian Ministry for Emergencies uses some 300 motor-cars and buses to evacuate local residents. The Russian Pensions Fund resumes the operation of its branches in the Chechen Republic.

Chechnya's fuel and energy complex is being rehabilitated, the same as its power system, oil and gas pipelines, wells and other oil facilities.

To finance the rehabilitation of the Chechen economy, 500 bln roubles have been allocated from the reserve fund and 300 bln roubles as state investments from the federal budget. Measures are being taken to organize a normal functioning of the Russian bank's branches in Chechnya.

As part of the Russian Government's peace initiatives, meetings and consultations were held with representatives of the Chechen community in Moscow, leaders of North Caucasian republics, territories and regions, religious leaders of various confessions, members of committees of soldiers' mothers, Chechen entrepreneurs, as well as with members of the Russian business community.

Thus, it can be stated that alongside operation [as received incomplete]

Government Decree Amends Economic Reform Document

MM0302112395 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Feb 95 First Edition p 9

[Russian Federation Government Decree No. 27, signed by Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin and dated Moscow, 12 January 1995: "On Amendments to the Russian Federation Government's Revised Plan of Actions to Implement the Russian Federation President's Message to the Federal Assembly 'On Strengthening the Russian State (Fundamental Guidelines of Domestic and Foreign Policy)' and the Russian Federation Government Program 'The Development of Reforms and the Stabilization of the Russian Economy' in the Second Half of 1994"—from the "Official" section]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation Government decrees:

To delete Paragraph 1.11 of the Russian Federation Government's Revised Plan of Actions to Implement the Russian Federation President's Message to the Federal Assembly "On Strengthening the Russian State (Fundamental Guidelines of Domestic and Foreign Policy)" and the Russian Federation Government Program "The Development of Reforms and the Stabilization of the

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Russian Economy" in the second half of 1994, ratified by Russian Federation Government decree no. 869 of 26 July 1994 "On the Results of the Socioeconomic Development of the Russian Federation in the First Half of 1994 and the Tasks for the Immediate Future" (SOBRANIYE ZAKONODATELSTVA ROSSIYSKOY FEDERATSII, 1994, No. 14, p 1645).

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Government

Government Not Planning Fixed Ruble Exchange Rate

LD0302192295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1843 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 3 (Interfax)—The Russian government does not intend to introduce the fixed exchange rate of the ruble in the next four-five months as there are no conditions for doing so, Russian Economics Minister Yevgeniy Yasin told Interfax in an exclusive interview today.

Yasin said that to introduce the fixed exchange rate of the ruble it was necessary to slow down the growth in prices and accumulate enough state currency reserves. He said the state currency reserves must be $6-8 billion.

Yasin stressed that "the government intends to stabilize the ruble's exchange rate by normal methods in which there will be nothing sensational."

Yasin said there was no way for the government to intend to stabilize the exchange rate of the ruble by administrative methods.

Federal Budget Owed R9.3 Trillion in Arrears

LD0302233295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1554 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 3 Feb (BUSINESS-TASS)—At 1 January 1995, arrears of payments to the federal budget stood at 9.3 trillion rubles. They have risen more than five-fold since the start of last year, BUSINESS-TASS was informed today at the State Taxation Service. As a result of decisions made to leave up to 30 percent (and in some industries up to 50 percent) of payments received at the disposal of enterprises to pay for wages and other urgent requirements, the deferred debt has reached 5.5 trillion rubles, or almost 60 percent of all arrears.

The amounts of payments not redeemed for over three months, at the expiry of which the question of an enterprise's bankruptcy arises, continue to increase. By the end of 1994 these arrears had reached 2.1 trillion rubles, or 14 percent of all arrears. The State Taxation Service is paying special attention to monitoring enterprises with arrears to the budget exceeding three months. Lists of these enterprises are regularly sent to the Russian Finance Ministry for appropriate measures to be taken.

Economic Forecast Expert Interviewed

MM0602114195 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 2

[Interview with Professor Dmitriy Olshanskiy, director of the Strategic Analysis and Forecasting Center, by Marina Eratova; place and date not given: "What Further Games Will They Play With Us?"—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] No one needs convincing that our economy is collapsing. But who and what is assisting this deserves close attention, which is what the Strategic Analysis and Forecasting Center is doing.

Professor Dmitriy Olshanskiy, the center's director, who recently published a political forecast in our newspaper, describes what awaits us in the economy this year.

[Eratova] So what have we yet to endure, what economic cataclysms will there be in connection with the war in Chechnya, for instance?

[Olshanskiy] The protracted military conflict is giving rise to a budget hole which is leading to the rise of inflation. Whether it will cost 15 trillion rubles [R] or slightly less it will still add to the budget deficit. And the authorities will also try to walk off with something from the budget for themselves under cover of this business.

At the expense of what will this happen? At the expense of social appropriations. Simply, we should expect nothing from the 1995 budget for social needs. Because even the crumbs which were invested will go to the war in Chechnya

The situation in the economy is further complicated by the fact that since the Chechen events the West has clearly altered its position. The slightly more than $12 billion which the West promised us in credits for this year and with which the government intended to cover over 42 percent of the budget deficit—very great difficulties are emerging here. That means we shall have to manage for ourselves somehow. In addition since December last year there has been a decline in the activity of foreign investors—they do not, with rare exceptions, want to invest money in Russia. All that will mean only a deterioration in the economic situation.

[Eratova] How will the government get out of this situation?

[Olshanskiy] On the one hand the federal power will try to smooth over its relations with the West. Some movement in this direction has already appeared—before the New Year Chernomyrdin hastened to sign several decrees which mark the fulfillment of the memorandum on reforms in Russia which was submitted by Gaydar's government back in 1992 to the IMF and which received approval. Now the memorandum has appeared in an abbreviated Chernomyrdin version which the premier is fulfilling. I have in mind the government directive on repealing the oil export quotas and on reducing the list of forms of entrepreneurial activity for which a license is

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compulsory, and a number of other instructions. But not everything depends only on the international financial institutions—there is also public opinion and private investors.

[Eratova] The situation in the present economy is further complicated by the fact that the galloping movement of the dollar has begun again....

[Olshanskiy] The dollar will naturally grow and I have absolutely no faith in those forecasts of R4,500 rubles given by the Ministry of Finances or the Central Bank. A more realistic forecast is R8,000-8,500 a dollar at the end of the year.

Public opinion is that by late 1994 our economy had reached the peak of its decline. Add the food crisis forecast by everyone in March-April—we already have a very bad situation with regard to food stocks.

In crude terms in the economy we have returned to the 1990-91 situation when the population had a lot of money. Over the first 10 months of 1994 alone the government emission was R17.2 trillion—this was issued as cash. That this money is unevenly distributed is another matter—one third of the population has nothing at all while 5 percent has more than enough.

Money is indeed the lifeblood of the economy. That blood is stagnating in the organism. In late 1991 in order somehow to rush the process through they decided to release prices so that money would continue to work at least somehow. Now there is the same problem, but we do not know what to do. That means a new spiral of inflation and the search for some mechanisms which could extract money from the population.

[Eratova] What kind of mechanisms?

[Olshanskiy] Very simple, they are called the "MMM" joint-stock company. The year of 1994 showed that the population is credulous—you can play pyramid games" with it. Over 50 bankrupt companies played at this "pyramid game" and fleeced the population of up to R25 trillion. After that the state saw what a convenient business it was and decided to do something similar itself.

They began immediately to issue state shares and our state is now being transformed into a joint-stock company called the GKO—state short-term bonds [gosudarstvennyye kratkosrochhnyye obligatsii]. Buy them and gamble with the state.

The state is acting very cunningly: It is issuing bonds for three months and then buying them from the population—people get a certain profit. But to buy up the previous bonds the state has to issue and sell new ones. And now there have been about 30 issues—every new games with bonds. Essentially it is the same kind of "pyramid" that Mavrodi [head of MMM company] built.

[Eratova] What is to be done when the complicated "pyramid" suddenly starts to collapse?

[Olshanskiy] The formula is well known: In 1957 Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev deferred payments of bonds for 20 years. So we can suppose that a year of bonds awaits us. And the bonds will be issued at all levels. Not only by the federal authorities but also by the local and municipal authorities under various names—housing, grain, telephone, and other bonds. Then it depends on the population and whether or not it will put its trust in them. Most likely it will take the bait.

[Eratova] But after all this is a voluntary gamble....

[Olshanskiy] So to speak. If the government nonetheless wants to fulfill its obligation to the international financial institutions it can say: "We shall not emit any more additional money and you will have to take our bonds instead of wages."

As we recall, that is what happened under Stalin: When you received your wages you were willy-nilly subscribing to a loan. So that you will get a bond or nothing at all. That is quite a strong likelihood. I do not think it will be entirely voluntary. Rather it will be economically enforced.

Another thing that awaits us in the immediate future is the emergence of R100,000 notes—they were printed long ago and are awaiting their hour. The government has held back inflation—it will hardly succeed in doing so now. And that means a new eruption of inflation. So somewhere toward the end of the year the government will start to think: "Is it not time to carry out a money reform?"

There will most likely be a money reform this year. And a very simple one, of the currency revaluation type—reducing the number of zeros. They will bring the dollar exchange rate to some level or other, R4,600 for instance, will reduce the number of zeros, and bring the ruble and dollar almost to their former memorable proportions. for instance R4.6 to the dollar.

[Eratova] Will there not be complications with the circulation of "greenbacks" in Russia?

[Olshanskiy] As of early February the state's struggle with dollars in cash has begun. People who hid their savings in dollars will have a rather complex time of it. Moreover, the exchange of U.S. dollars is expected. The Americans predict that new $100 notes will appear in their country this year. And we do not know how our Russian people will exchange their dollars because the Central Bank has already said that it will not engage in the exchange of dollars. An enormous number of restrictions have already been introduced: For instance, it will be necessary to submit an income declaration, a note saying that you have bought them and so on and so forth. Many obstacles can be erected. And it is no accident that people have already rushed to take their money out of their currency accounts, fearing it will be frozen. The government is now engaged in refuting these rumors. But there is no smoke without a fire.

[Eratova] What other economic surprises are being prepared?

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[Olshanskiy] There will most likely be a tax reform although in what form is not yet entirely clear. The idea is that it should bring some relief to entrepreneurs. But on the other hand the state is so concerned with collecting money from the population that it will hardly undertake any additional concessions for anyone.

Behind all this there stands the authorities' inability to set up the management of state property. Now they are trying to compensate for the budget's revenue section by some other means. Hence, there are requisitions, requisitions, and yet more requisitions....

[Eratova] And what about the budget?

[Olshanskiy] I think the government will be happy if the Duma does not approve the budget because if it does approve something then it will be a law which will have to be fulfilled but the government does not know exactly how much money will now be required to resolve the conflict in Chechnya. So the authorities will now be interested in the parliament approving a budget every quarter and after the event: After a quarter has elapsed it would approve a budget within the framework of the actual expenditure and revenue.

[Eratova] Many people are now worried by one simple question: Is this year the last year of the crisis or the first year of a depression?

[Olshanskiy] The crisis is a further decline. Depression is a dying out, the halting of decline, albeit at a terribly low level. But in general it makes no difference to the ordinary person.

The West predicts another 18 percent decline in production this year and for individual regions of the CIS a decline of 30 percent. That is in general the forecasts in the economy are not cheerful. Of course, there is still some way to go to a return to a troglodyte existence. There is a degeneration of ordinary life in the country but somehow we take this readily, it seems to us that this is normal. Our mentality is so strange. So we shall come to terms even with this and adapt to it. It's nothing terrible, we will probably survive. But the only thing is that of course increasingly fewer of us will survive.

In conclusion I can give a cheerful forecast: The birthrate in Russia is increasing somewhat. Women's fear of giving birth has started to decline—they are getting used to the idea.

Presidential Administrator Denies Reports on Shadow Economy

LD0502023795 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Feb 95

[From the "Vremye" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Sergey Medvedev] It may be purely by chance that this week, on the president's birthday, the press published several articles as presents of sorts, which claimed that the authorities were creating their own shadow economy. IZVESTIYA claims that this is being created by the president's administration of affairs, first and foremost. I asked its head, Pavel Pavlovich Borodin, to explain this.

[Begin recording] [Medvedev] Pavel Pavlovich, is it true that you are in charge of the Rostoplivo joint-stock company and the UMEX [expansion unknown] enterprise, which processes emeralds and gets profit from them?

[Borodin] Well, you know, it seems that there is a tough political struggle under way now, probably because not much time is left until the presidential elections. So, IZVESTIYA is adding two and two and making five and making it all out to be a shadow economy. I can simply describe it as feverish raving, though I do not like vulgar words.

Oleg Dmitriyevich Davydov, deputy chairman of the Russian Government and minister of foreign economic relations, gave a detailed answer to this question. We have no such facilities. We simply do not have any such joint-stock companies. We do not develop anything or receive profits. Generally speaking, such activities are not illegal in the Russian Federation. The administration of affairs provides services for seven supreme federal bodies of power, namely the administration of the president, the administration of the government, the State Duma, the Federation Council and three courts: the Supreme Court of Arbitration, the Constitutional Court, and the Supreme Court. We provide services for all of them. The president's administration of affairs is, in essence, the administration of affairs of the supreme federal bodies of power [word indistinct] in line with the Russian laws.

[Medvedev] Some newspapers have described you as a successor of Nikolay Kruchina [CPSU Central Committee member], whose last words before he jumped out of the window were about the need to create a party shadow economy.

[Borodin] Well, you know all these articles are aimed at narrow-minded people. Those who are familiar with the financing system of the supreme federal bodies of power clearly understand that we have no accounts of our own in the generally-accepted meaning of the word. Our instructions both with regard to hard currency and rubles go first to the Finance Ministry and then to the Central Bank. In practice, we are distanced from direct financing, which undergoes a very lengthy, very strict, and very thorough control. It is virtually impossible to create any shadow economy under such system.

[Medvedev] Pavel Pavlovich, can you earn money, or are you constantly dipping into the state's pocket?

[Borodin] Like all Russian enterprises, we have the right to earn money, according to our rules and our status. According to Russian laws, we (?could be earning) something like 240 billion, which is about 20 percent of our budget program. [end recording]

[Medvedev] This was an interview with Pavel Pavlovich Borodin, the administrator of affairs of the Russian president.

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Russia: Press Reports Assess Polevanov-Style Privatization

WA0302150595 FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE—ENEAG

[Foreign Media Note] Vladimir Polevanov was elevated from governor of Amur Oblast to Deputy Premier and privatization minister on 17 November 1994. Slightly over two months later, on 24 January 1995, he was removed from this his new posts by order of President Yeltsin. This media note summarizes press commentary on the economic policy aspects of Polevanov's dismissal.

On 24 January, the day Polevanov was fired, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA published the text of a detailed memo from him to Chernomyrdin, criticizing the results of the first stage of privatization. According to Polevanov, out of the "seven objectives of privatization," five have failed causing an increase in crime and other social problems and undermining national security. He criticized what he called "the rush to privatization" in which "privatization of state property took place without appropriate mechanisms being created to protect the poorly off population groups." In addition, he pointed to machinations by foreign firms aimed at "exploit[ing] the current processes in the defense complex in order to penetrate its management structures by buying up shares in enterprises undergoing privatization at voucher auctions."

Polevanov assailed the "forced pace" of privatization and its "political objective" which he claimed was intended "to create a broad class of property owners...to make the reforms irreversible." He also at tacked his predecessor by name: "Since a large part of the responsibility for the omissions... rests with First Premier A.B. Chubays, he is not objectively committed to the eradication of shortcomings and will try to pursue the former, largely discredited line in the sphere of privatization." He called for First Deputy Premier Oleg Soskovets to assume oversight of privatization to ensure against further violations, stating that under Soskovets "their rectification will take place in the shortest possible time."

The media did not hesitate in reporting Polevanov's dismissal and speculating on behind-the-scenes reasons for it. In a 25 January ITAR- TASS interview presidential aide Aleksandr Livshits was quoted as saying that "the dismissal of chairman of the State Property Committee Polevanov means that the government's course for continuing privatization will not be drastically reviewed." Livshits offered an alternative proposal, in which the state could buy shares in already privatized enterprises. This would not be considered a form of nationalization, and the money received from selling shares could be used "instead of direct subsidies from the budget to profit-losing enterprises." Livshits said that he regarded renationalization or any other form of withdrawal of property from the private sector as "utterly incorrect."

Other interviewees were less circumspect. In another 25 January ITAR-TASS interview, State Duma deputy Stepan Sulakshin stated that Polevanov was dismissed "because he had risked pointing out miscalculations" to Chubays. According to Sulakshin, Polevanov had also warned that the "Bolshevik measures" being used to carry out the economic reforms would lead people to vote against the country's leadership in future elections. "Thus," Sulakshin was quoted as saying "he became dangerous."

Stas Stremidlovskiy, writing in the 25 January issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, took the State Property Committee to task. He cited data from a Russian Prosecutor's Office inspection and an enquiry written by S.I. Veryazov, chief of the section charged with monitoring the implementation of economic laws. Stremidlovskiy quoted Veryazov's report, which stated that it would be advisable "to draft and send to the chairman of the Russian Federation Goskomimushchestvo a submission on eliminating the exposed violations and instituting proceedings against the guilty officials." Stremidlovskiy concluded that this was a good suggestion but asked against whom will proceedings be instituted: "If we are talking about Chubays, who led Goskomimushchestvo at the time, nothing will happen. After all, the president appointed him first vice premier on the completion of voucher privatization, thus promoting him. And can the president be mistaken?"

On 26 January, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI carried an article by Lev Chernenko, who viewed Polevanov's dismissal "as not only a victory for reformist forces in the government and a victory for the press, which criticized the new vice premier's actions... the main thing is that it is a blow against those forces that want a new redistribution of property." He reminded readers that ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI had expressed doubts about Polevanov's abilities and intentions, adding that "the second stage of privatization, in Polevanov's hands, could have been its last." Chernenko pointed out that after Polevanov had made statements about nationalizing certain sectors of Russian industry, he was "gently corrected," first by Chubays, then by Livshits and Chernomyrdin and "finally, Boris Yeltsin himself had occasion to comment on, correct and even refute remarks" by Polevanov, The memo Polevanov sent to Chernomyrdin was, according to Chernenko, "waved aloft like a banner by the opposition." However, Chernenko concluded, "high office does not confer on the person who holds that office the right to elevate his own personal opinions... to the rank of state policy. This, in our view, has been demonstrated by the story of the sudden rise and equally rapid fall of Polevanov."

Premier Warns Federation Council Against Wage Increase Law

MK0302143095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "The Premier Asks for the Wage Raise Law To Be Rejected]

[FBIS Translated Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin has asked the Federation Council not to approve the law on raising

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the minimum wage. In his letter to the Federation Council the premier says that the proposed minimum wage increase will cost 159 trillion rubles, which will double the budget deficit.

World Bank Advice on Coal Sector Assailed

MM0302161595 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 4

[Article by Vadim Borisov, acting director of the Institute for Comparative Studies of Labor Relations: "World Bank's Safes Hold More Promises Than Dollars"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since 1990 the World Bank has been showing an interest in the Russian coal industry. In 1992 it launched a collection of materials which formed the basis of its proposed report for the sector's restructuring. Option one was submitted to the Russian Government in November 1993; option two was submitted in August 1994. What are these "advisers" suggesting?

Apart from recommendations to cut subsidies, no mechanisms which would make it possible to make the sector competitive are envisaged. It is meant to happen in some unknown way. The calculations do not take into account either the role of the coal industry in the Russian economy, the possibility of developing it, or the social consequences of the mass closure of pits. Mass unemployment is planned for coal-mining regions. According to the foreign specialists' figures, it will reach 300,000-500,000. The number of people in work could fall from 300,000 to 70-80,000 in the Kuzbass alone. There is a diplomatic silence about the fact that this could trigger a chain of dismissals in related sectors.

The World Bank program will create more problems (not least for the government) than it promises to solve.

The World Bank is proposing a number of practical recommendations:

1. To sharply cut the level of subsidies for the coal industry and to abandon subsidies altogether in the next one-two years.

At whose expense will the sector become competitive if subsidies are cut sharply and cannot be used to modernize production?

Although the World Bank program has not yet been adopted, you get the impression that its proposal to cut investment in the coal sector is already being implemented by the government. In 1994 the amount invested in developing the industry was virtually zero—and the same is expected this year. Under these circumstances the promises for the past three years to make the sector competitive sound no more well-founded than the advertising slogan: "We will make your voucher golden!"

2. To dismiss all working pensioners from coal-mining enterprises.

Tens of thousands of people will thereby be doomed to a poverty-stricken old age. After all, pensioners continue working not because they love their job but simply because they are unable to live on their pension. Moreover, in a number of places there is nobody to replace them.

3. To encourage workers to leave enterprises "voluntarily."

This is done by giving those dismissed special benefits that diminish over the course of time. This puts pressure on workers, who face the dilemma of either leaving the enterprise now and receiving the benefit, or going later and getting nothing. At a time when there are threatened pit closures workers are agreeing even to take low payments and are trying to leave their enterprise as quickly as possible in the naive hope that they will find work somewhere else. If this "pressure" policy is carried out on a large scale, panic will set in and people will want to leave even sooner. As a result there will be a wholesale collapse of employment and the labor market will be flooded.

4. To stop taking on new workers at pits.

The result of this is already that vocational and technical colleges where young mining workers are trained are refusing to admit any young people.

What next? Next it is proposed that regional programs be elaborated which should contain measures to encourage the migration of miners.

The program of measures to encourage migration will create a new problem for the Russian Government—the problem of refugees from coal mining regions.

Just What Are We Being Offered In Return?

Loans again. This time their allocation will depend directly on an agreement from the Russian Government to carry out the World Bank's recommendations. And the promised loan amount last year was "eroded" from $1.5 billion to $0.5 billion. This is even less than Kemerovo Oblast alone receives in a year.

This is not the first time infusions of foreign currency into the Russian economy have been promised. I would recall that in 1991 Western creditors were promised a preferential credit of more than $20 billion in the event of the Russian Government initiating market transformations. Since then we have been "performing somersaults" under market conditions for three years—but where is the promised money? As Gaydar Senior wrote, "the fathers have left and the grandfathers too." There are different faces in the government. There are no longer two superpowers on the planet. Why promise a lot to a poor country? The government's eyes light up over just $500 million.

But if we divide $500 million by the 500,000 men supposed to be fired from the mines, providing "social protection" for them out of this money, it comes out at just $1,000 per person. If the miners take the money they will become ruble millionaires overnight. But where they will find jobs is not the government's concern.

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What Next?

The government's tactics have already led to the miners being isolated from the rest of the population.

But the miners' demonstrations cannot be called a manifestation of sectoral egoism. After all, they are not opposed to the restructuring of the coal industry. Moreover, they are worried about the fact that at many pits people are working under inhuman conditions to mine coal, paying with their lives for the inadequate organization of work. They are all in favor of shutting down coal enterprises like this. But the main thing should be the accelerated creation of new jobs.

Let's face up to things squarely—the miners are just a trial balloon for the World Bank. If the miners do not resist, there will be a chain reaction, and massive cutbacks and enterprise closures will begin in other sectors. Similar recommendations could be given to workers in the metallurgical sector, machine building, and the chemical industry. So should miners be condemned for meekly complaining from their underground coal faces?

Oil Pipeline Plan Linked to Chechnya War

954F1161A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 95 p 5

[Article by Sergey Pluzhnikov and Sergey Sokolov: "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Investigation: We Are Prepared To Pay for a Sea of Oil With a Sea of Blood"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has somehow traditionally been not the done thing in political circles to say that it is necessary to send people to their deaths for the sake of an influx of petrodollars into state coffers. But it is this that is the first cause of the Chechen crisis, and the war there is of a market nature. It is obvious that our soldiers are dying for Caspian oil. But the politicians and commanders do not know how, nor are they willing, to explain this to the mothers of the fallen boys in military uniform, the refugees and those driven out of their native haunts....

How Does the Caspian Attract the Sharks of Imperialism?

Nature has arranged things in such a way that another sea—an oil and gas sea—splashes beneath the Caspian. Earlier the billions of barrels of oil and trillions of cubic meters of gas belonged to the USSR, constituting its strategic reserves. Following the disintegration of the empire, the black and blue gold, comparable in terms of worth with the treasures of the Arab shaykhs, fell to the lot of sovereign Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan.

Initially the most succulent piece fell to nimble representatives of the United States. America's Chevron had all but acquired more than half of the Kazakh Tengiz supergiant, which is among the five biggest oil and gas fields in the world. And its reserves, according to the most modest estimates, constitute approximately 2 billion tonnes of costly "light" oil, 2.2 trillion cubic meters of gas, and 609 million tonnes of sulfur, which, at present world prices, would stretch to a sum in excess of $300 billion. Having learned from the bitter experience of Kremlin officials, the Kazakh Government defended its national interests, and Chevron had to content itself with 20 percent of the profits from the joint development of Tengiz. Chevron has already invested $600 million in this project, and Kazakhstan has obtained multibillion dollar lines of credit.

The Kaspshelf consortium, which includes such giants as Mobil, British Petroleum, British Gas, Agip Statoil, Total, and Shell, is to undertake one further major oil project in Kazakhstan.

An agreement on Western firms developing part of the oil-bearing shelf of the Caspian belonging to Azerbaijan was even reached by the Elchibey government. British Petroleum estimates the profits from the exploitation of this project at $118 billion. This is why the British sought a substantial share in the development of the Azeri and Shirak fields. A serious problem—the shipment of the oil and gas to the consumer—remained unresolved. And at this stage of the shareout of the Caspian fuel sea, Russia bestirred itself and began to intervene actively in this tumultuous process, which promises profits in the billions.

In Which Direction Will the Oil Rivers Flow?

There are at the present time two scenarios for the transportation of Caspian energy sources to Europe.

The first route is Azerbaijan-Iran-Turkey. It will be necessary in this case to run the threads of the pipeline in troubled regions like Iranian Kurdistan, not to mention Azerbaijan, which has been worn out by the Karabakh conflict. For Turkmenistan, for example, the realization of this option would cost $7 billion and take six to eight years, which is not as profitable as it would like.

The second route is Astrakhan-Groznyy-Novorossiysk. This option contemplates onward shipment via the Russian Druzhba pipeline. In addition, it is convenient in that there are refineries here that are pretty good and easily modernized. More profitable petroleum products could be obtained at the refineries, and they could be shipped to numerous customers by tankers by sea from Russian ports.

The latter route is recognized by specialists to be the most profitable for all, primarily for Russia. In principle, neither option excludes the other, but Western investors do not fall into the lazy category and could not permit themselves to pay twice.

The developers of the Tengiz field, for example, long since opted for the Russian route. The Caspian Pipeline Consortium, which included Kazakhstan, Oman, and Russia, was formed back in 1992 for laying the territory's new pipeline, and the reputable American Bechtel & Willbross firm agreed to perform the design work and the construction. The source of profit for the consortium would be a

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charge for the transit of the Caspian oil. A transit rate of over $3 per barrel was established by the consortium's board of directors in 1993. It is not hard to calculate our profit if it is considered that the pipeline's maximum capacity is 62 million tonnes a year, and this is far from the limit. The Russian side has been insisting increasingly assertively as of late on the allocation of a sizable share of the production at the Tengiz field and will, most likely, get its own way.

In order, incidentally, to consolidate its success in the shareout of the energy resources of the Caspian the Russian Government adopted the decision to build a new port on the Black Sea. The Tamanport will cost approximately half a billion dollars, and costs will be recovered in four years. The investors in this project are Russian, including the Yukos oil company.

If you cannot buy, you have to take?

But the prospect of colossal profits being obtained from production and transportation were spoiled slightly by just one circumstance—the existence of the outrageously criminal and bellicose Chechnya, across whose territory it was planned to channel the enormous flows of oil and gas.

The Americans or the British would in such cases have acted simply—they would have bought up the fractious dictator lock, stock, and barrel. The United States did so quite recently, having virtually purchased the Kim Il-song regime for $4 billion and having captured the profitable nuclear power market in the DPRK.

But the appetites of Dudayev and his people were so inordinate that the traditional practice had to be dropped. The example of the contract that was concluded by the Ministry of Economics and Finance of Chechnya with the Erkeeni Cultural and Trading Center from Yakutia may be quoted in this connection. According to a report in the newspaper EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA, back at the start of 1993, in accordance with this contract, Dudayev's government intended to purchase from the Yakut businessmen five tonnes of high-purity gold bullion worth a sum total of R2.78 billion (the dollar was worth less than R1,000 at that time). Taymaz Abubakarov, minister of economics and finance of the Chechen Republic, whose signature was allegedly on the gold agreement, declined to comment, alluding to his obligation to keep an official secret. How many such "official secrets" the Dudayev government has is not known. It is clear that the main income of the criminal structures of Chechnya has been based on reexports of Russian oil. According to specialists' calculations, the profit of the local mafia was at that time even to have constituted hundreds of millions of dollars.

The foreign agents have a choice, though—to transport their oil by another route. In this case Russia would be out of job and without the anticipated currency earnings....

Only open sources of information were used in the preparation of the material, but, by all accounts, there are also secret government documents—analytical reports, directives—in this connection. The number of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's Investigation Department is 257-20-59.

Power, Heat Generating Industry Hit by Cash Shortages

MM0302101995 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 95 p 2

[Report by Rustam Arifdzhanov: "Arkhangelsk Warms Up. But Power Generation Emergency Continues"]

[FBIS Translated Text] That seems to say it all. We can take off a few sweaters that we had piled on top of warm shirts, untie our scarves, and take our feet out of our felt boots. These are all the things that the people of Arkhangelsk had been wearing in their freezing apartments. Radiators are warmer, lights are no longer burning at half their full voltage, and operational fuel reserves—of around 75,000 tonnes—have been built up at power stations. All the fuel oil tanks are full.

Northern winters are long. Three months long. In mid-fall, when the frosts had gripped Arkhangelsk, Oblast Administration Head Pavel Balakshin declared an emergency situation as regards fuel stocks, given that winter lasts until 1 April. The Arctic was frozen.

The fuel oil from state reserves had been almost entirely used up. The remaining fuel at the Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk TETS [heat and electric power stations] allowed those power stations to operate for only a couple of days, even at reduced capacity. Restrictions on electricity consumption were introduced not only for debtor enterprises but for everyone else as well. The water temperature in the Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk heating systems was reduced by 25-30 degrees. The cold penetrated people's homes through cracks in windows, and walls froze.

Arkhangelsk was freezing for lack of money. Clever businessmen had bought up virtually all the fuel oil. The Northerners owed money to the power workers, who themselves owed money to the oil refineries.... A special system of payment for energy resources was introduced in the freezing oblast. The oblast administration introduced the power "emergency" at the request of "Arkhenergo" and the "YeES Rossii" Russian Joint-Stock Company. By then the Arkhangelsk military-industrial complex owed the power workers more than 26 billion rubles [R]. But "Sevmashpredpriyatiye" and "Zvezdochka" did not have the money to pay.

The Arkhangelsk Administration got the government to issue R50 billion in Finance Ministry treasury bonds, which were transferred to "Arkhenergo." It received another R7 billion in bonds from military-industrial complex enterprises and R10.5 billion from the Defense Ministry.

The oblast made the very tough decision to write off one-half of the cash flowing into enterprises' accounts at

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commercial banks every day to pay off the money owed for heating and lighting. The crisis was overcome through joint measures. We can swap our felt boots for carpet slippers.

But, at the same time, the problems in the Russian power generation system are increasing, and the situation is becoming critical. "Arkhenergo" lost money on the basis of its results for the past year. Another 16 out of 72 associations are in the same boat as the Arkhangelsk people. That is 22 percent of the power workers of Vladimir, Ivanov, Pskov, and Leningrad Oblasts, five associations in the Far East, three each in Siberia and southern Russia.... A year ago only three were on the brink of bankruptcy. But now another two power stations—the well-known Sayano-Shushenskaya and Gusinoozerskaya stations—are bankrupt, in addition to regional power generation associations.

The power generation industry's lack of money is the main reason why our cities and settlements are freezing. Last year they were owed over R15 trillion. Consumers paid for less than 60 percent of the energy supplied to them. While effectively granting their customers interest-free commodity loans, the power workers also owe money themselves. Over the past year they owe the coal industry almost R1 trillion and the gas industry more than R4 trillion. In total, including the debts for fuel oil, their unmet obligations already run to over R5.5 trillion.

It is proposed to break the deadlock by implementing a regional pricing policy, getting customers to pay in full for the thermal and electric power they use, and to make more efficient use of the opportunities provided by the integrated grid.

Winter will come to an end—be it in March or April. But if we are complacent in the spring and relax in the summer we will live to see another emergency.

Defense Ministry Explains Account Held at German Bank

LD0602113395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1023 GMT 6 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—The information and press department of the Russian Defence Ministry admitted that the ministry has an account at the Zossen branch of the Deutsche Bank, stressing that it was opened on the basis of the agreement between the government of the Soviet Union and the German government on some transition measures, of October 9, 1990.

An explanation note circulated by the department here on Monday says that the account received foreign currency appropriated by Germany for the upkeep and withdrawal of the Russian Western Army Group (WAG) as well as currency received from the sale of army property, goods and services.

Technical procedure and conditions of operations with the account were provided for by a separate agreement between the wag financial service and the field office of the Soviet Union's state bank, on the one hand, and the Deutsche Bank, on the other, concluded on July 12, 1991.

"Currency from the account was used in strickt conformity with legislative acts and other normative documents for the upkeep and withdrawal of the wag as well as for meeting other social needs of servicemen," the report by the information department notes.

Operations conducted from the account were repeatedly inspected by the Russian prosecutor-general's office, the Finance Ministry and the Central Bank, control bodies at the offices of the Russian president and the goverment, the Russian federal service on currency and export control as well as the chief administration of the military budget and finance of the Defence Ministry.

The document stresses that "the above inspections did not find any substantial violations".

The account continues now to function in order to make final settlements for the upkeep and withdrawal of the WAG, as it is provided for by hitherto concluded intergovernment agreements.

The explanation note was issued by the information department in connection with reports by some mass media, challenging the legality of this account at the Zossen branch of the Deutsche Bank.

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International Affairs

CIS Delegations Call for 'Permanent Yalta Conference'

LD0602101795 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 2200 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The preparations to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Yalta Conference, in which heads of state of the anti-Hitler coalition took part in 1945, are under way in Crimea. The public of the city of Yalta gathered today for a solemn meeting.

Participating in the jubilee preparations are parliamentary delegations from the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Abkhazia, Crimea, and Pridnistrovye [Dnestr region], who came out with an initiative to create a permanent Yalta interparliamentary conference. They declared about their intention at a press conference that was held in Yalta. A statement was read, which in part says that the permanent Yalta conference will serve the purpose of restoration and safeguarding peace in the hot spots of the CIS countries, as well as curbing the process of the further disintegration of social and economic relations between the CIS countries.

Our decision will apparently be met with different responses and will cause disputes in some parliaments, said Sergey Baburin, a deputy of the Russian Gosduma [State Duma] at a press conference.

The first response to this initiative came from Kiev. The Ukrainian leadership voiced its unsatisfaction with the actions of the Supreme Council of Crimea, which not being a subject of international relations became an initiator of a meeting of representatives of the parliaments from other CIS countries.

Kuchma Says CIS Summit Delegation To Focus on Economics

LD0602092795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0752 GMT 6 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Ukrainian delegation for the CIS summit in Almaty on February 10 will focus on discussing economic issues, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma told a news conference in Donetsk on February 3 in the evening.

He said he considered it necessary "to enhance the mechanism for the CIS to begin working and so that the interests of all countries be the same."

Kuchma stressed that the issue of cooperation for exchange of information in the sphere of scientific research had been included into the agenda of the CIS summit on his proposal.

At the same time, Kuchma said he believed that "the future of relations between the CIS countries is bilateral relations." Kuchma said the CIS should not be compared to the European Union adding that "Europe has been moving towards this goal for 30 years."

Crimean Tatar Leader, Chechen Foreign Minister Meet

LD0602100895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0816 GMT 6 Feb 95

["INTERFAX-UKRAINE" news item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to well-informed sources, during his visit to Istanbul, leader of the Majlis of the Crimean Tatars Mustafa Dzhamilev met with Chechen Foreign Minister Shamsuddin Yusef. Their talks dealt with the situation in the Caucasus in connection of the Chechen events.

The sources also said that representatives of the Chechen diaspora in Turkey presented Dzhamilev with a portrait of Shamil, the national hero of the Chechen people.

Government, Romania Urged To Sign Interstate Accord

AU0302144795 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 1 Feb 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "A Dialogue Between Ukrainian and Romanian Parliamentarians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukraine's people's deputies, representing Chernivtsi Oblast, met in Suceava (Romania) with Romanian parliamentarians from that province. They discussed an intensification of economic and cultural cooperation between Chernivtsi Oblast and the granting to the Ukrainian minority in Romania extensive bilateral assistance in the development of its spiritual values and maintenance of its ethnic individuality.

Ukrainian and Romanian parliamentarians adopted a joint communique, in which they appealed to the governments of their respective states with a request to expedite the signing of a major interstate agreement on friendship and economic cooperation.

Ukrainian Peacekeeping Battalion Flies to Sarajevo

LD0302184795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1717 GMT 3 Feb 95

["INTERFAX-UKRAINE" news item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev. 3 February. Interfax-Ukraine—A new shift of servicemen from the 240th special BATTALION [caps as received] of the Ukrainian contingent of UN peace-keeping troops in former Yugoslavia has begun to arrive in Sarajevo.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Defense told Interfax-Ukraine the first group of 131 servicemen arrived in Sarajevo on Friday. The servicemen had received special additional training at a center in Nikolayev.

The next plane to take servicemen to replace colleagues who have been stationed in Sarajevo is planned to leave Ukraine on 7 February.

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National Affairs

Kuchma Interviewed on Reform, Chechnya

MM0302144995 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 4

[Interview with President Leonid Kuchma by IZVESTIYA Chief Editor Igor Golembiovskiy; place and date not given: "Leonid Kuchma: Impatience Poses the Main Danger to Reform. Ukrainian President Answers IZVESTIYA Chief Editor Igor Golembiovskiy's Questions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We met Leonid Danilovich shortly after his lightning visit to Moscow at Boris Yeltsin's invitation. The results of this trip are well-known; a number of agreements were concluded although they were by no means easy to come by. The talks with the president and head of government were long and hard, "in different weight categories," as Kuchma remarked, but he believes—and that is the main thing—that another step has been taken toward a global political agreement between the two countries. We dwelled on that point.

[Golembiovskiy] I hope that a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership between Ukraine and Russia will be signed. What kind of conflicts were there in the sides' approaches and did it prove possible to totally overcome them? Will the treaty be viable and what will it give the Ukrainian people?

[Kuchma] The work on the treaty is indeed fairly hard. Nevertheless to date it has proved possible to coordinate the sides' mutual interests on virtually all issues. As you know, only two points, including the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, remained uncoordinated. I do not want to go into details, I will only say that on this problem the Ukrainian side has reached a point which current Ukrainian laws and political ethics do not make it possible to transcend. In particular, with regard to the status of Sevastopol.

But I am confident that we will reach a compromise in the near future even on these as yet sticky positions. A solution will be found rapidly and successfully if the participants in the talks constantly remember that the signing of the treaty is not the end but merely the beginning of a long and forward-looking process of Russian-Ukrainian interaction and cooperation. The treaty opens up totally new forms of interaction within the framework of which we may find answers to many pressing questions for our countries today.

I constantly remind the Ukrainian delegation that the treaty should not mean a diplomatic loss for Ukraine, but nor should the treaty constitute a diplomatic victory for the country. It would be an unforgivable mistake to think that someone should be the victor and someone else should be the loser. In this case the only option is a common victory or a common defeat.

But in order to answer your question as to how the treaty will be viable should it be signed it is necessary to first grasp why certain agreements that have already been signed by Ukraine and Russia are still not in force. There is one reason: Agreements fail to be implemented solely when they are not backed up by the sides' real interests. If both sides' economic, political, and social interests are observed, it is utterly absurd for agreements not to be implemented. Excuse me for being rude, but you have to be a fool not to implement your own interests, never mind act contrary to them.

As to what the treaty could give the Ukrainian people I would rank in first place not the econoimc but the psychological effect. In our huge geopolitical area where, to my great regret, interethnic conflicts, squabbles, wrangles, mutual misunderstanding, and mutual mistrust have become the norm a large-scale state accord between one great Slav people and another would have a tremendous psychological effect.

The treaty would help a considerable proportion of our older generation to overcome the agonizing distress that they experienced following the breakup of the unified state. As for the new generation, particularly representatives of business circles, it would open up completely new opportunities for interaction, cooperation, a chance to intensify mutual activity to assimilate the huge market that has emerged in the expanses of the former USSR and to create new forms of cooperation via transnational financial and industrial groups, corporations, and joint enterprises.

No matter what you say, the future of our peoples, their community, their cooperation will largely depend on concrete interaction between precisely the new nonstate economic structures. And, I repeat, the treaty is not the end but just the beginning of a new joint road that we must travel.

[Golembiovskiy] You came to power by overcoming extremely significant opposition from the institutions of authority themselves and most of Ukraine's political parties. What is the nature of the antipresidential opposition now and how are you building a relationship with it?

[Kuchma] I first had to overcome not so much opposition from Ukraine's institutions of authority as opposition from specific people therein.

At the start of my presidential term the opposition lost its political outlines. I was hardly conscious of it. But after my October speech in parliament last year when the new economic policy was made public I began to be conscious of opposition from left-wing forces. Our respective fundamental approaches to economic reform and the reorganization of authority do not coincide. Today opposition processes are growing within this wing.

Radical national-patriotic forces do not back my desire to strengthen and develop relations with the CIS countries, primarily with Russia, which, I am profoundly convinced,

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is our strategic ally and partner. They are harshly criticizing my attempts to change linguistic and humanitarian policy as a whole, which once again is simply essential in order to preserve integrity and civil accord in Ukraine. My stance on the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty has also come under vigorous attack from this same quarter.

On the whole, though, I respect the opposition. Although I would like its actions to be more constructive. Incidentally, the opposition—and the trade unions too—is a kind of sociopolitical seismograph. They provide the first warnings of impending social upheaval and restrain us from erroneous decisions. The opposition can and should be valued and respected for this. Which is what I am trying to do.

[Golembiovskiy] Your recent report on the plan for economic reforms in the country was welcomed by some people for its radicalism and criticized by others for its lack of mechanisms to secure the outlined objectives. What real changes are you hoping to achieve during the coming year?

[Kuchma] Any politician should be prepared for a host of complaints. Diametrically opposed complaints. At the same time it is important to distinguish between objective criticism and criticism as a form of political competition. And I would like to say the following. The past year has been highly complex. Industrial production dropped by almost 28 percent compared with 8 percent in 1993 and agricultural production dropped by 17 percent. Add to this the total breakdown of state finances and the huge foreign debts. Naturally, the population's real income was also bound to fall. We are taking resolute steps to primarily provide support for people lacking social protection. Although we do realize that we are still not doing enough here.

Have reforms gone well? The main thing is that we were able to substantially reduce the budget deficit at the end of the year from 22.4 percent in August to 9.7 percent. And, as you realize, this means both a corresponding stabilization in the karbovanets, a partial reduction in inflationary potential, an increase in the proportion of long-term credits, and other reassuring factors.

This year our fundamental task is to stabilize production. A reliable foundation has been laid for this. We have established a 30-percent tax on the profits of enterprises in all forms of ownership. That is one of the lowest figures in Europe. Add to that the 48-fold indexation of working capital, the acceleration of amortization, preferential export terms, and the stabilization of the monetary system. All of which provides major incentives for the manufacturer. We hope that these measures will provide positive results without fail.

The privatization process is regarded as one of the most important levers for speeding up reform. I would not like to seek the people responsible for its past distorted development. We have taken serious steps which should not only get this process moving but also lend it civilized forms. This year we plan to corporatize 8,000 major enterprises and mainly put an end to small-scale privatization.

We have begun in-depth reform of agrarian relations. The main thing here is to put an end to the social exploitation of the countryside and escape from a situation where the agrarian sector is the main donor for the whole economy. [Kuchma ends]

A small digression. Off the record I asked the president what is most dangerous for the future of reform and he answered in one word: "Impatience." We Russian citizens know how accurate that is from our own experience. But in Ukraine the gap between expectations and real life is much greater than in Russia. And here the question of the authorities' stability arises.

[Golembiovskiy] It is well-known that you have a very difficult relationship with the Supreme Council. There is no constitution and other fundamental laws regulating relations between all branches of authority; legislators are patently taking no great pains here and meanwhile conflicts between the executive and the parliament are ever increasing. How may all this end? Are you not afraid that events may turn out as they did in Russia in October 1993?

[Kuchma] Clashes in politics generally arise where a particular branch of power lacks a clearly defined area of competence and authority. And it is not the Supreme Council's fault that it inherited an extremely amorphous kind of authority, which by its very vagueness provokes it to make the kind of bids that are not excessive but are simply not optimum from the viewpoint of government theory.

Obviously the presidential authority is by no means perfect in our country. But clashes, as we can all remember from the primers, are the engine of development. Therefore I take an extremely calm view of what I consider to be the inevitable clashes between the executive and the legislature in Ukraine. The new parliament should emerge from this situation as a truly legislative organ and a new truly presidential authority should be fine-honed. That is what is envisaged by the draft law on authority that I have put forward for consideration by the Supreme Council.

I rule out a repetition of the Russian scenario. Ukraine has every opportunity to avoid such dramatic events and we must exploit them. At any rate I am doing everything I can to resolve the clashes in civilized ways.

[Golembiovskiy] There is the view that the Ukrainians are supposedly cautious, if not to say conservative, by nature and will therefore not accept radical transformations. Hence the surviving system of Soviet authority, the minimal economic transformations, and the "red parliament"....

[Kuchma] You see, I take a fairly skeptical view of the talk that the concrete sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation in the country may crucially depend on certain characteristics allegedly inherent in the nation.

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If we turn to Ukrainian history, we can see other things besides caution and sluggishness there. For instance the 18th century constitution of Pilip Orlik is virtually the first democratic constitution in Europe. That is also part of Ukrainian history.

Although I am bound to admit that Ukraine has been unforgivably slow with reform. However, you must take into account the fact that after the proclamation of independence Ukraine ended up a fragment of the former Union not only economically but also from the viewpoint of state governance of the country. Given the lack of proper experience and the requisite structures it takes plenty of effort and time to establish the institutions of an autonomous state.

Today very varied strata of Ukrainian society are aware of the need for radical economic reforms. I think that the Ukrainian Supreme Council is no exception to this rule. As for the left-wing forces achieving definite success in the parliamentary elections you will agree that this is not just a Ukrainian phenomenon. As in many other post-totalitarian countries it is more of a response to sluggishness in implementing reforms, the deterioration of the overall socioeconomic situation, and the lack of an effective system of social protection than rejection of the reforms themselves.

To go back to the first part of the questions—regarding the Ukrainian mentality—I see undeniably positive traits here, to wit, a well-considered, thorough approach, a penchant for resolving problems peacefully, and responsibility.

[Golembiovskiy] What effect may events in Chechnya have on public opinion in Ukraine, which you are compelled to take into consideration, on the development of bilateral relations, and on the means of resolving intra-Ukrainian problems like Crimean separatism for instance? How in your view will this military operation affect the CIS countries' positions?

[Kuchma] Events in Chechnya have already regrettably had some negative effects on Ukrainian public opinion. I constantly stress that events in Chechnya are Russia's internal affair. But no one, even the president, has the right to ban Ukrainian citizens from contemplating and pondering what is going on in Chechnya.

I am bound to say that a considerable proportion of our people are not, to put it mildly, indifferent to what is going on there and, to put it in starker terms, are simply shocked by the number of casualties on both sides. And they are extremely puzzled about the means being used to resolve the Chechen problem. At the same time most people in Ukraine acknowledge that there was and is a problem that needs to be solved.

Our press contains a host of assessments of events in Chechnya, sometimes stern, often incompetent. And often incidentally shaped by the Russian mass media. But I would like to point out that there are virtually no opinions showing any kind of malicious glee regarding our northern neighbor's difficulties. Apart from grief for the dead there is also understanding that an escalation of the difficulties in Russia may affect the stabilization of the huge area around Russia, including Ukraine. We are conscious of this even today.

Bitter experience gleaned from Chechnya also teaches us that the Chechen problem has once again shown that there are limits to the effectiveness, competence, and potential of military force. I think that after Chechnya it will be far harder for anyone at all to decide to use military force to resolve conflicts of this kind.

As for Ukraine's problems, believe you me, we do not extrapolate events in Chechnya to our own intra-Ukrainian problems. We have different kinds of problems and we hope to find completely different means of resolving them.

Assails 'Ill-Timed' No-Confidence Resolution

LD0402150095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1338 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Donetsk, Feb 4 (INTERFAX-UKRAINE)—Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma describes resolution of Ukraine's parliament presidium which included the issue on non-confidence in the government in the agenda of the 3rd session of the parliament as "discourteous."

Speaking at a press conference in Donetsk Friday evening, Kuchma declared that "he does not understand" this decision.

"This is an ill-timed decision both from the political and economic points of view," he underlined.

Earlier Ukrainian speaker Oleksandr Moroz reported that the parliament intends to consider the issue on non-confidence in several members of the government, including vice premier on economy, finances, and banking activity and several ministers in charge of economic policy.

In Kuchma's opinion, "it is necessary to primarily consider the decree on power which precisely stipulates that president appoints the republic's cabinet of ministers."

At the same time he deems it inexpedient to annul the post of prime minister in the Cabinet of Ministers. In accordance with the proposals of the parliamentary part of the conciliatory commission, the draft decree On State Power and Local Self-Rule does not provide for the post of prime minister.

"The president has many other functions in addition to the functions of a premier," Kuchma said and added that "there are premiers in all countries."

Asked about his actions if the parliament does not adopt the decree on power, Kuchma said that in this case he would address the people but "not through a referendum

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but by means of an opinion poll." "It will be possible to adopt decision" on the basis of such opinion poll, Kuchma said.

CPU Calls Kuchma's Edicts 'Dangerous Tendency'

LD0302180795 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1720 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—A statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine [CPU] today calls the issuance of edicts by the president a "dangerous tendency." In the communists' opinion, the edicts violate the Constitution and laws of Ukraine and lead to "the establishment and strengthening of a dictatorship in the interests of the bourgeoisie." "Everything is being used to satisfy dictatorial ambitions: From the stirring up of anti-Russian moods to direct threats of prosecution for the people's desire to restore justice," the statement by the CPU Central Committee notes. The CPU Central Committee includes in such documents the draft law on power, edicts on accelerating privatization in Ukraine, on land reform, on resubordination of individual National Guard subunits to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and on support for Ukrainian Cossacks.

The communists demand that the president and government take decisive steps, which in their opinion will bring Ukraine out of the crisis: That they introduce a state currency monopoly and a monopoly on foreign trade, suspend privatization, nationalize commercial banks and insurance companies, and so on.

The statement notes that the CPU is in favor of strengthening the executive vertical, but in no event agrees to the elimination of councils—"the only guarantor against the approaching dictatorship."

The communists are calling on the people of Ukraine to express resolute protest against the antipopular course of the state's highest leadership.

Socialist Party Condemns Kuchma's 'Ruinous' Reforms

LD0302183695 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A statement by the Socialist Party of Ukraine.

Proceeding with the ruinous course of so-called reforms, which, according to the recipes of the International Monetary Fund, are aimed at turning Ukraine into a third-rate colony, the president and the government are stimulating further spiraling of inflation and a decline in the living standards of the people.

Another inhuman rise in prices for consumer goods, housing, communal services, and transport actually means that the executive power is conducting a policy of destroying its own people. The price rise is fully shifted onto local bodies of power with the aim of discrediting them. The Socialist Party of Ukraine has always been coming out against the antipopular course of reforms. It is high time the people had its say.

That was a statement by the Socialist Party of Ukraine.

Parliament Speaker Moroz Views Struggle for Power

WS0602110095 Kiev KIYEVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 20 Jan 95 pp 4, 9

[Interview with Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz by Yuriy Konstantinov; place and date not given: "Where the Games of 'Patriots' May Lead To"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Konstantinov] **As soon as even minor tension occurs in the upper corridors of power, certain invisible players begin shuffling cards from the personnel pack of the highest nomenklatura, thus creating grounds for all possible rumors. The rumors about the prime minister's dismissal have not been confirmed so far. A people's deputy claims in the press that Masol and Moroz are supported by practically the same political forces, and if those leaders depart, they will do so together, on the eve of the next electoral campaign. Would you share this opinion?**

[Moroz] Much depends on when the next campaign will take place. If the aforementioned people's deputy had in mind the stability of the Masol-Moroz tandem during the entire term of the Supreme Council, I would raise no objection. Still, as you understand, various options are possible.

In general, I look at any tactical move related to relations among the president, prime minister, and parliament as yet another sign of political battle—the battle for power. You must know that all grudges against Masol and speculations surrounding his possible replacement, actually do not proceed from an objective assessment of Vitaliy Andriyovych's work and his specific role in the current situation.

[Konstantinov] **As far as I know, nobody has seriously analyzed his work.**

[Moroz] And who needs to analyze it? What can one criticize Masol for? For the fact that, being prime minister, he has no influence on the situation, and does not abandon his line?

However, as a matter of fact, he is currently deprived of the powers of prime minister. This is true, and one cannot avoid it.

I, as a representative of the legislature, should apparently not interfere in this problem—this is the responsibility of the executive authorities. At the same time, I cannot but voice my fully substantiated concern, and I will insist that the Supreme Council examine the draft law on the Cabinet of Ministers at its third session. This document must

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clearly state what the executive branch should do in the future, and it must translate this into the language of the law.

Let us put the question in the following way: Who is currently in power? The Cabinet of Ministers represented by its presidium and the prime minister? Or those who dictate certain steps? I believe that it is those who dictate. And I will not be surprised if it suddenly turns out to be not the president but... his entourage. This worries me, since an entourage is by no means a constitutional structure. The situation is dangerous, because similar structures act in a most radical manner.

It was no accident that Vitaliy Masol's name emerged yesterday, and today it has somewhat receded to the background. Why? The vagueness of the prime minister's position is very convenient for those who deal with political speculation.

... I had to tell the president that there was no purpose in burdening him with such a function as appointing and dismissing all personnel from the executive branch, including deputy ministers. He is not able to grasp such a vast nomenklatura. Consequently, not the man who signs documents but the man who prepares them will play a decisive role. Namely that man has almost unlimited opportunities to manipulate names and fates of specific induviduals, or, as is customary to say in such cases, to create opinions.

On the other hand, this also puts the prime minister in a very interesting situation. He is apparently in power, and at the same he does not have it. Partially, it is convenient, since one can always refer to objective circumstances hampering one's work.

[Konstantinov] **Such comfort is expensive.**

[Moroz] It is expensive to the state and society, not to mention the prime minister himself, whose ratings are naturally doomed to plunge in such circumstances. By the way, during the election campaign, I had the opportunity to meet with many production managers from various regions. And I had the opportunity to become convinced that they perceived Masol's appointment and his ideology of restoring production positively. Schematically, this ideology may roughly be reduced to the following formula: Inflation is not terrible if its level does not exceed the level of increasing production. Other patterns, including that proposed by [Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister] Pynzenyk, proceed from the intention to reduce inflation to zero. However, as Masol himself illustratively put it, zero inflation is only possible in a graveyard. You, as well as readers, have the opportunity to judge which approach is better. You can also become convinced that speculations about the prime minister's name are not as inoffensive as they might seem to be at first glance.

[Konstantinov] **During a conversation with the parliament speaker, it would simply be a sign of bad tone to disregard the Law on Power adopted in the first reading. While putting forth my question, I am proceeding not from the letter but the spirit of this law. Do you not assume that Oleksandr Moroz may prove to be the last Supreme Council chairman in Ukraine's history?**

[Moroz] I knew that you would sooner or later ask this question. Not only you are interested in this.

Yes, such a situation would be probable if the Supreme Council accepted the initial version of the law as the final one. But I am more than convinced that it will not be accepted. As a matter of fact, the president himself has admitted that he understands this perfectly.

I think that we will eventually have a normal document. And I support Leonid Kuchma's intention to divide the functions of power branches. It must be done without fail. But it must be done in such a way, that Ukraine has guaranteed democracy.

When people tell me about democracy, for example, in the United States, I reply that I am also for such a democracy. The president there is really the leader of the state and the executive branch, but, additionally, some 3,000 individuals from the top echelons go through Congress.

Or let us take the experience of Germany or Austria. Let us build democracy according to their pattern; nobody is against this. But we should take into account our own traditions, reality, and mentality.

... I will insist that we build a third branch of power—the judicial branch—in a most persistent manner. The sooner it becomes consolidated, the more guarantees for the protection of democracy in Ukraine.

[Konstantinov] **And once the third branch is built will it be time for the fourth one?**

[Moroz] The fourth branch is performing its functions. The point is how it is performing them, and to what degree it is independent. I am convinced that if the three branches become at least relatively independent, the press will also become independent. If this does not take place, it will certainly end up under some branch. It is not hard to guess under which one.

[Konstantinov] **Let us return to relations between the president and parliament. You, Oleksandr Oleksandrovych, are the least likely man to join Leonid Kuchma's team. Additionally, there is an impression that nobody in the Supreme Council is interested in finding a mutual understanding with the president more than Oleksandr Moroz is. Tell me frankly, have you ever felt like sitting at a symbolic negotiating table not in front of Leonid Danylovych but at his side?**

[Moroz] Simply, such a feeling could not occur. The president and the Supreme Council chairman have quite different responsibilities. And in terms of advocating the interests of our state, I think that we are on the same side.

In general, I proceed from the assumption that to sit in front of someone, as you put it, by no means speaks of an antagonistic confrontation. And I would like the president to share my opinion very much. Life adds its corrections, however. In the Supreme Council's structures, in the

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president's entourage, as well as in certain subdivisions of the executive branch, there are people who want to make something more significant of our contradictions, and to add a hardly friendly nature to them, to put it politely. The skill to find the optimum correlation between discrepancies and compatibility of positions is certainly the highest skill in politics. I realize very well how much depends here on the parliament speaker.

[Konstantinov] **The fact that you have repeatedly used the words "the president's entourage" during this conversation obviously means that Leonid Kuchma has a strong and promising team. Do you have a similar team?**

[Moroz] I do not think that you have understood me well. What does it mean—a strong team?

[Konstantinov] **It means, at least, that it led the president to a victory in the elections.**

[Moroz] Yet, one should also look at whether it was this or another team that led him to victory. If the strength of a team lies in the fact that it is able to thrust its viewpoint upon the president, than I do not believe that it is a strong team. This is rather a team with strong ambitions. Or, to put it this way, it is a group of people who have not yet managed to become a team. And they will not become one, because as soon as they make the president dependant on them, they will split up. They will begin dividing powers, and will pull the blanket toward themselves. Such a situation is fraught with a threat to the state and dangerous for the president himself, since use of force in such an interpretation means neutralizing or removing him from actual power, which can be observed even now, in certain cases. This can be confirmed by the situation with the Cabinet of Ministers and certain nuances in the drafting of the Law on Power and the debate on it in parliament.

... So, I do not consider a team to be strong, if it acts this way. But if it generated thoughts, ideas, and trends, enriched the president, and devoted all its strength to implementing his programs, it would be really strong. In my opinion, the president does not yet have such a team.

And I will not compare anyone with my team, again, because I and the president have different functions. Unconditionally, I have people who hold the same views as I do, people who support me, and advisers whom I trust.

[Konstantinov] **Do you not like the term "team"?**

[Moroz] Why not? This word has the right to exist. However, it does not mean a structure clearly defined by legislation. It is too early to talk about a team if it means several advisers and people from the Cabinet of Ministers... The following reasonable question arises: What about those who are not on the team? Are they second-grade people? Are they a second team? Are they players who wait for the final whistle? You must agree that this is quite a debatable definition.

[Konstantinov] **I will allow myself to ask you a question not connected with what we have been talking about so far. From exclusively confidential sources, it has become known that the Ukrainian Supreme Council chairman writes poetry. It is interesting to know what the relations are between your and Vaclav Havel's muses? Does the fate of the muse of Russian poet Anatoliy Osenev not suggest certain reflections?**

[Moroz] I am too demanding with regard to poetry to consider myself a poet. I will not deny that I have been writing poetry. I have seldom published my lyrics, and I have mostly done this under a different name. To a certain degree, it is perhaps characteristic of many people. But when I was young I firmly decided that I would not become a professional author: There are enough mediocre authors in Ukrainian literature without me. [passage omitted]

[Konstantinov] **When, do you think, will a new Ukrainian constitution be passed?**

[Moroz] I would like it very much to be passed this year. The sessions of the Constitutional Commission, particularly those recent ones, have shown that hardly anybody shares such a wish. As I believe, work on the Law on Power will initiate and accelerate the adoption of the constitution. This way or another, in this form or another, the law should be inscribed in numerous chapters of the constitution.

[Konstantinov] **Which political force, and when, in your opinion, will be able to assume not only power but also responsibility for it, the responsibility for Ukraine's future?**

[Moroz] I believe that no political force will be able to do that within approximately two years. But during the upcoming elections, if they are held on a mixed basis with more or less optimal correlation between the proportional and majority systems, it will be possible to form a force able to influence the situation. Most likely, this will be a bloc of left-centrist forces. Still, it will not be easy for them to rule either. Realistic possibilities will only appear after the economy is stabilized.

Crimean Parliament Protests Division of State Property

WS0302123595 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 2253 GMT 2 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol, Feb. 2—The Crimean parliament Presidium protested Wednesday Kiev's position on the division of state property between Crimea and Ukraine in a statement sent to President Leonid Kuchma and the Ukrainian parliament Presidium.

The draft presidential decree on Crimean property and the Cabinet of Ministers draft resolution establishing a Ukrainian-Crimean state asset inventory committee will, if implemented, result in Crimea's loss of its share of state property, says the statement. The decree and resolution imply that Crimean state property will be appropriated by

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the Ukrainian state, according to Crimean parliament Deputy Speaker Oleksiy Melnykov.

The steps proposed in these documents contradict both the Ukrainian and Crimean Constitutions, said Presidium members. Crimean state property should be administered by the State Property Fund (SPF) of Crimea, reads the statement.

Despite a Jan. 12 resolution in Crimean parliament suspending the Ukrainian SPF and establishing a branch in Crimea, the Ukrainian branch says it is continuing operations.

Slavic Congress Holds Conference in Crimea

LD0602101195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0752 GMT 6 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The first Slavic Congress of Crimea opened in Simferopol on February 4, on the initiative of the Russian Party of Crimea, the Party of Crimea's Economic Revival and the Russian community of Crimea.

Addressing the participants, the Crimean parliament's vice-chairman Alexey Melnikov stated that the congress's task is to unite all Slavs.

Chairman of the 1st Slavic Congress, leader of the Russian Party of Crimea Sergey Shuvaynikov said that "the Slavs are disunited through no fault of theirs, by forces which are not interested in the unity of the Slavic people."

He also said that a representative unofficial organization of the peoples populating Crimea must be set up. "The Tatars, who returned from exile, established an unofficial body, the kurultay, which has not been registered, but whose representatives work in the Crimean parliament," said Shuvaynikov.

Meeting Calls For 'Urgent Measures' To Combat Crime

AU0502220295 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 2 Feb 95 p 1

[Report by Oleksandr Bittner: "War Against Crime: From Defense to Offense"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **The recent expanded session of the Coordinating Committee for Combating Organized Crime and Corruption may rightfully be called extraordinary. This is not only because its participants included Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol, Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Oleh Dyomin, and leaders of state executive power bodies, law enforcement, judicial, and other structures from all over Ukraine, and also members of parliamentary legal commissions. The very subject of discussion was out of the ordinary.**

Organized crime today remains a major destabilizing factor in implementing economic reforms and building a law-governed democratic state, it was stressed in reports by Yevhen Marchuk, chairman of the committee and first vice prime minister; Vladyslav Datsyuk, Ukraine's Procurator General; Volodymyr Radchenko, Internal Affairs Minister; and Valeriy Malykov, Ukraine's Security Service Chairman. So far, all attempts to place it under reliable control have failed—the offensive to the "fifth power" has not produced the desired results. Why?

A meeting behind closed doors that lasted several hours analyzed the situation and its causes. Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma delivered a speech there. I will not present it here—readers can read the speech in today's issue. I will only say that the president seriously criticized law enforcement bodies, especially their basic structures.

The program for urgent measures for resolving numerous major issues that was adopted at the meeting took criticisms into account. A one month notice was given for the fulfillment of many of the measures, following which the situation for combating crime will be considered, as the president emphasized, as if it were the personal responsibility of high officials. Thus, February will be quite hectic for them. It would be good if it also became hectic for the adversary. It must.

Commission Highlights Fleet Command's Criminal Deals

WS0602120995 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0815 GMT 6 Feb 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Supreme Council temporary commission investigating the socioeconomic situation in Crimea has prepared a document which reveals over 50 instances of illegal leasing, sales, and export of Black Sea Fleet property. This was explained at a February 2d press conference by commission members, People's Deputies Dmytro Stepanyuk, Anatoliy Koropenko, and Valeriy Palamarchuk. The document specifically points to the illegality of renting the Black Sea Fleet base sailors' club to Nevikon-Bank for offices; renting the Sevastopol Officers' Club to the Shans informational-commercial bank for offices; and using the "Yenisey" ship as a hotel. The deputies emphasized that huge amounts of Black Sea Fleet assets are shipped out to the bases of the Baltic and Northern Russian fleets, as well as to Novorossiysk and Anapa; in particular, nonferrous and precious metal scrap-yards. For example, 90 electric torpedoes with silver accumulator batteries were taken from Crimean storages under the guise of replacement. Citing reliable sources, commission members informed that 18 months ago, German toxic chemicals and petroleum products with radioactive waste were dumped on a Black Sea Fleet storage site in Ochakiv, with the tacit participation of three high-ranking persons: Commander Baltin of the Black Sea Fleet, Mayor Semenov of Sevastopol, and Black Sea Fleet Garrison Commander Babkin in Izmail. Head of the temporary commission Dmytro Stepanyuk, claims that the commission has evidence of Admiral Eduard Baltin's ties with the criminal formations. In his opinion, the evidence is sufficient for the military prosecutor to press charges.

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Sevastopol, Simferopol Report Bomb Plantings

LD0302152695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sevastopol, Feb 3 (Interfax-Ukraine)—An explosive device planted by unidentified persons went off at 5:50 on February 3 downtown Sevastopol. No one was injured.

The Sevastopol police told Interfax-Ukraine that the bomb blast damaged a free-price store, neighboring kiosks and public phone booths. Windows were smashed in the neighboring houses. Police detectives have been put to work on the case.

That was this week's third bomb plant in Sevastopol. A handbag with four kilograms of trotyl and a fuse was found at the pier of the Artilleriyskaya Bay, and ferry boats stopped running for a while between the pier and the Northern part of Sevastopol. In an unrelated development, a hand grenade exploded at the entrance to the Polyot restaurant.

At 1:15 on February 3 a powerful explosion shook the central part of Simferopol. The chief of the Simferopol criminal police Valery Petukhov says that the explosive device was planted on a window sill of the Vialaki shop which suffered material damages. Windows were smashed at a range of 50 meters.

The shop owner Alexander Borovko is traveling abroad. No-one alerted the police.

Space Agency Chief Opposes SS-24 Missile Destruction

LD0402150895 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—While our state leadership has made no decision yet on the fate of SS-24 strategic missiles, experts believe these missiles can be converted to civilian use as carriers or, for military purposes, be employed in nonnuclear deterrent forces, Andriy Zhalko-Tytarenko, acting director general of the National Space Agency of Ukraine, said in an interview with UNIAN on 4 February.

The destruction of SS-24's is unwise, he said, adding that "what should be done is either to use them as launch vehicles or utilize their partially dismantled individual assemblies in other missile systems." Otherwise, he said, it will mean "unforgivably squandering our wealth in the complex economic situation." Andriy Zhalko-Tytarenko concluded these missiles should be made use of in the interests of our state and strictly in accordance with all international agreements.

Interviewed on Need for Rocket Industry

LD0402194895 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1630 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—Andriy Zhalko-Tytarenko, acting general director of Ukraine's National Space Agency, considers the agency's main task to be the preservation of the state's space rocket industry in a functioning state. He informed UNIAN of this in an interview today.

According to Andriy Zhalko-Tytarenko, the priority projects for this year are work on modernizing the space launch vehicle Zenit for putting useful cargoes into geostationary orbit, launching the first Ukrainian satellite Sich-1 from the Plesetsk cosmodrome, and development of infrastructure on the ground.

The acting general director of Ukraine's National Space Agency also reported that according to unchecked unofficial information, [Ukraine's] Australian partners had managed to find funds for the construction of a regional cosmodrome at Cape York. According to him, if this project is implemented, then Ukraine will be able to give its technology, taking into account international legal documents on the Missile Technology Control Regime, and use the cosmodrome on a joint basis.

Says Russian Military 'Main Consumer'

LD0302221095 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—"If one is a militarist and sees nothing other than the military application of rockets, then from Russia's point of view its modernized rocket complex Topol-M has evidently eclipsed the Ukrainian rocket industry, as Russian specialists maintain," said Andriy Zhalko-Tytarenko, acting general director of Ukraine's National Space Agency, in a conversation with a UNIAN correspondent on 3 February. In the opinion of Russian rocket-builders, the modernized single-warhead solid fuel strategic silo-based rocket Topol-M is five or six years ahead of foreign equivalents in many parameters.

However, according to Andriy Zhalko-Tytarenko, the Russian military is still the main consumer of the Ukrainian Zenit and Tsyklon space-launch vehicles, and there is much equipment of military designation, which has been put into orbit by Ukrainian rockets in the interests of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense.

The head of Ukraine's National Space Agency stressed that our state is developing its space activity for peaceful purposes. "Both Kiev and Moscow are interested in the peaceful use of Ukrainian space-launch vehicles—this is shown by their joint participation in the Interstate Rocket-Building Program," stressed Andriy Zhalko-Tytarenko.

In his opinion, remarks about Russia no longer being interested in the Ukrainian space rocket industry harm mutual relations between the two countries.

Economic Issues

Minister on Importance of Trade With Japan

LD0502133395 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the first official visit by Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma to

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Japan, scheduled for this spring, the government and business circles of Ukraine continue discussing the prospects for bilateral Ukrainian-Japanese cooperation. Ukraine's Minister of Economy Roman Shpek, in particular, said in an article published in the DELOVAYA UKRAYINA newspaper that the visit by the president of Ukraine to Japan would be an important stage in both countries' joint work towards establishing permanent economic ties. The development of interstate trade relations, first and foremost, should be considered the main sphere of mutual interests, the minister emphasized. The Ukrainian side should be more persistent in searching for the possibilities of making Japanese businessmen interested in our food products and raw materials. On the other hand, Japan is showing great interest in the Ukrainian market. It can saturate it with such products as cars, scientific equipment, electronic products, and semiconductors. Ukraine is also interested in attracting Japanese investments.

Roman Shpek pointed out that Ukraine utterly requires the experience of Japan's economic leap in postwar years, also referred to in the entire world as the Japanese miracle.

Prime Minister on Economic Reform Implementation

LD0502114595 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 5 Feb 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol by radio correspondent Oleksiy Berezenko, Ukrainian television correspondent Valeriy Makarenko, and UKRYADOVYY KURYER correspondent Oksana Holovko; correspondents not individually identified; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Esteemed prime minister: My first question is about a matter that worries people the most now—the latest price and tariff increase. First of all, I would like to hear from you about the reasons for this and the prospects; is another price jump expected in future?

[Masol] First of all, I would like to say that everything occurring now is a continuation of the implementation of the economic reform program proposed by the president and approved by the Supreme Council. Everything that was examined today and yesterday, and several days ago at a Cabinet of Ministers sitting, was reflected in Resolution No. 733, which confirmed that as from 1 February tariffs for fuels should rise.

The thing is that in the last two years there has been a very fast and very high increase in fuel prices and a fall in the exchange rate of the coupon, and this has led to electric energy and gas being provided for domestic needs practically free. Therefore, industrial products, manufactured at enterprises and through which the populace's expenditure was partially paid, is practically noncompetitive today too. Therefore, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Energy and Electrification, the Committee for Oil and Gas, and the Ministry of Coal Industry together prepared a resolution on increasing tariffs for the use of fuel for the population. The government examined this issue at its sitting, where there was a very interesting and fairly critical discussion, and after this certain decisions were taken.

First of all, I would like to say that the government took a decision that there will be no compensation for unsubsidized maintenance of communal economy now, because we took a decision to increase the populace's payments not by 40 percent, but only by 20 percent. Yesterday I signed a corresponding resolution. Thus, where Resolution 733 indicated an increase in payments of up to 40 percent, in fact it will be 20 percent from 1 February. But the populace will pay only 15 percent of, let us say, its combined family income. [passage omitted]

On the whole, the resolution, which was signed and adopted at the Cabinet of Ministers sitting, says that prices will increase gradually—20 percent from 1 February, 30 percent from 1 May, 40 percent from 1 July, 60 percent from 1 October. But we will be studying the situation that arises and make appropriate changes. [passage omitted]

You know that a decision on indexing grain bought in the July- August period, which would have led to an increase in prices for bread, was not taken at the sitting of the Cabinet of Ministers. The appropriate ministries and departments were instructed to study this issue additionally.

You know that some peasants are insisting on indexation of grain purchased in the July-August period, but I should say that everyone should understand that such indexation may be carried out only by increasing prices for food products. This is a complex issue, and a decision was not taken on it at the Cabinet of Ministers. It needs more study.

[Correspondent] Vitaliy Andriyovych, during the recent working visit to Moscow by the Ukrainian president, you signed a trade and economic agreement with Russia for 1995. There has been a lot of talk about this document. So I would like to hear your opinion about the way the preparation of this document was carried out, because such agreements need lengthy preparation.

[Masol] Yes, I agree with you. Such documents are prepared for several months. Truly, this trade and economic agreement was prepared by our relevant ministries and departments together with Russia's ministries and departments. Russia is our main partner. Approximately, let us say frankly, Russia accounts for 50 percent of the overall volume of our foreign trade. Moreover, more than 60-70 percent of fuels are actually supplied to Ukraine from Russia. Therefore, it is our main partner. And you understand, partnership is partnership. When gas supplies from

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Turkmenistan to Ukraine were cut off in late November, Russia helped us as a business partner. I flew to Moscow several times then, and we found a common language. Thus one may say that we have passed the peak of our winter crisis. [passage omitted]

I want to say that on the whole we have now signed trade and economic agreements with practically all countries of the former Soviet Union. Issues with Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan are still uncoordinated. Trade and economic agreements have been signed with all of the other countries. [passage omitted]

Approximately another 20 agreements with Russia have now been prepared, which will be signed in the near future. They concern, let us say, transport agreements, cultural issues, sports issues, and others. Therefore, I believe that the 20 agreements that have now been prepared will also be signed. [passage omitted]

National Bank Issues Savings Certificates in U.S. Dollars

LD0302220595 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev— Ukraine's National Bank today adopted a decision to issue National Bank savings certificates in U.S. dollars, the Ukrainian news agency UNIAN reports.

Individuals will be able to acquire $50, $100, and $200 certificates, while corporate entities will be able to acquire $1,000 certificates, the agency said.

Vitaliy Myhashko, head of the Capital Markets Directorate at the National Bank, is quoted as saying that the approximate annual interest rate on the certificates will be 7.5 percent, and that interest will be paid every six months.

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Belarus

Russian Duma Speaker Rybkin Visits Belarus

Urges Military-Political Union

WS0302144695 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Rybkin, Russian Federation State Duma chairman, held a news conference at the national press center on 3 February. The reporters displayed interest in the furthering of Belarusian-Russian relations and economic cooperation between the two states. They were told that work toward economic integration had been conducted for several years, and specific steps had been made now in that direction. However, Ivan Rybkin pointed out that integration of Russia and Belarus is (?a priority). He also emphasized the need for military-political cooperation.

Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Myacheslaw Hryb spoke about the priority nature of (?the eastern direction) in the development of Belarusian economy. Other officials, too, took part in the news conference.

President: Cannot Survive Without Russia

LD0302133595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1301 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk February 3 BELINFORM-TASS—"Belarus and Russia cannot survive without one another", Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka declared today after an hour-long conversation with Ivan Rybkin, the chairman of the lower house of the Russian parliament.

"We have always been and must remain brothers. To my mind, a politician adhering to other views is simply a short-sighted person," he said.

Alyaksandr Lukashenka said Ivan Rybkin was not just a parliament leader but "one of the most outstanding Russian politicians, a promising politician".

The Belarusian president said he was happy to see that different branches of power in Russia, particularly the legislative and the executive, have reached mutual understanding. Lukashenka said this was due to a large extent to his Russian guest, Ivan Rybkin.

Hryb, Rybkin View Economic Integration

LD0302135195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1320 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By BELINFORM correspondents Vladimir Glod and Aleksandr Lyushkevich for TASS]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk February 3 TASS—Visiting chairman of the lower house of the Russian parliament Ivan Rybkin declared here today that the State Duma viewed favourably the idea of economic integration between Russia and Belarus.

Speaking after his first meeting with Belarusian counterpart Mechyslaw Hryb, Rybkin said the process of economic integration will help equally the Russian and Belarusian economies to solve the numerous problems facing the producers of both countries. He said the State Duma deputies were clearly aware of the fact.

Nonetheless, when asked about the purpose of his visit, Ivan Rybkin said that he would like to find out what his Belarusian colleagues and deputies of the Belarusian parliament thought about the recent signing of bilateral documents in Minsk. These documents dealt above all with the relations between the two countries in the field of economic cooperation.

The State Duma leader said he was going to discuss the Russian president's forthcoming visit to Belarus. During the visit, the two countries are expected to sign an agreement on good neighbourhood and cooperation, a document determining the principles of relations between Russia and Belarus.

Rybkin Addresses Parliament

LD0302141895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1356 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk February 3 BELINFORM-TASS—Russian State Duma chairman Ivan Rybkin told Belarusian parliamentarians today that there are forces in Russia ready to make efforts to resurrect the former Soviet Union. But history cannot be reversed, he declared.

Relations today must be built proceeding from the fact that both Belarus and Russia are now sovereign states, Rybkin said.

Rybkin stressed that Belarus's economic interests are by no means undermined and its sovereignty is not infringed upon by the recently signed agreements between the two countries. He said Russia was willing to give a go-ahead to its economic integration with its western neighbour not only in order to "open a window on Europe".

Rybkin said he was satisfied with the business-like and constructive atmosphere of his visit to Minsk.

Upbeat on Russian-Belarusian Relations

LD0302203995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2002 GMT 3 Feb 95

[By BELINFORM for TASS]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk February 3 TASS—Russian Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin completed the first day of his Belarusian visit today with a meeting with Executive Secretary of the Commonwealth of Independent States Ivan Korotchenya.

The one-hour-long meeting of the Duma speaker and Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka focused on

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aspects of bilateral relations, including the official Belarusian visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin scheduled for late February.

"Belarus and Russia cannot live without each other. We have always been brothers and must remain such. I think that a politician who has different opinion is a short-sighted person," said Lukashenka.

In his opinion, Ivan Rybkin is both the Duma leader and "a most prominent and promising Russian politician".

Ivan Rybkin has also met Chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet Mechyslaw Hryb. He noted that the Russian State Duma is positive about the idea of Russian-Belarusian economic integration. The latter will help both economies to solve numerous problems.

Rybkin told a news conference today that the Russian-Belarusian relations are a model of cooperation for the whole Commonwealth. In his words, many sovereign republics have come to understand the need for more active participation in integration.

As for the military-political union between Belarus and Russia, Rybkin thinks that all the prerequisites are there. Not a single Commonwealth sovereign state is now capable of independent protection of its borders, which means they should have more understanding than doubts in the sphere of military cooperation.

The Duma speaker has been received by Belarusian Prime Minister Mikhail Chyhir and Belarusian Foreign Minister Vladimir Senko.

Estimating the results of his official Minsk visit, Rybkin noted he is satisfied.

Speaking of his meetings with the Belarusian leaders, he noted they dwelt on boosted economic integration. The sides discussed the package of documents they have signed and the treaty to be signed during Yeltsin's visit to Belarus.

U.S. Team Visits, Discusses Nunn-Lugar Law

WS0302144795 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1100 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A U.S. delegation headed by Dr. Gloria (Duffy), deputy secretary of defense, special coordinator of the program for mutual elimination of threat, has completed its visit to Belarus. In the course of negotiations with the Belarusian military officials, discussed further were joint steps toward the implementation of the U.S. Nunn-Lugar law which stipulates U.S. assistance for Belarus, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine in the liquidation of nuclear arms and conversion of the enterprises of the defense industry. The sides discussed forms of assistance and methods to render it in the sphere of retraining Belarusian officers dismissed from the Army, as well as the creation of normal conditions for their further activities.

Civil Defense Cooperation Agreement Signed With Poland

LD0502171895 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0500 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Agreement has been reached between the Brest civil defense headquarters and their colleagues from Biala Podlaska Vojvodship in Poland on reciprocal help. The correspondent stressed that it will focus on emergency incidents on trunk routes that (?link) the two countries and that are part of the common European system.

Trade, Economic Accord Signed With Tajikistan

LD0402204595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1939 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By BELINFORM-ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Sakhankov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk February 4 TASS—Belarus and Tajikistan signed a protocol on trade and economic cooperation on Saturday [4 February], pledging to boost bilateral ties.

Under the protocol, the sides will make reciprocal supplies of manufactured goods and agricultural produce and create the conditions for business development and cooperation. The two countries also agreed to exchange information on goods supplies and prices on a quarterly basis.

During the visit, head of the Tajik delegation, Prime Minister Dzhamshed Karimov met with Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka and CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya.

Summing up the results of his meetings and talks in Belarus, Karimov said the two delegations recognised the need to develop ties and promote closer integration with ex-Soviet republics. This will help stabilise the economy and enhance reforms, he said.

Lukashenka Criticizes Law on Supreme Soviet

LD0302220995 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1700 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] This week we are dedicating most of our program time to reports on the work of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Today is no exception. The parliamentarians continued their work. Here are journalists Valyantsina Verashchagina and Valyantsina Sytsevich. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] It was expected that the evening session would begin with the discussion on agriculture, but Alyaksandr Lukashenka, president of the Republic of Belarus, took the floor.

[Begin Lukashenka recording, in Russian] Esteemed deputies of the Supreme Soviet. I did not plan to speak to you today, as I have already said, beforehand. But I have to address you today on one very important (?issue). On 1 February, you, by the constitutional majority, rejected my

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proposals on the Law on the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, including both the proposals on your social guarantees and those proposals that concern the decisions of the Supreme Soviet that do not observe the Constitution. I am more concerned about the latter. To adopt the laws that regulate relations between different branches of power is your right, esteemed deputies of the Supreme Soviet. But the president of the Republic of Belarus, under Point 1 of Article 100 of the Constitution of the republic, must take measures to protect the sovereignty, national and territorial integrity, and, I am emphasizing it specially, measures to secure political and economic stability, the protection of rights and freedoms of citizens. I am addressing you today proceeding from that norm of the Constitution.

As you remember, when the Law on the Supreme Soviet was being prepared for its first reading, I put forward my proposals and criticism that expressed doubt in the expediency of certain sections of the articles of the mentioned draft law. At the same time, I referred to Article 94 of the Constitution, under which the procedures for the activities of the Supreme Soviet, its bodies, and deputies are determined by the Supreme Soviet statutes, which are adopted by the Supreme Soviet and are signed by its chairman, and also by other legislative acts of the Republic of Belarus. I noted then that a number of sections of the draft Law on the Supreme Soviet were of a statutory nature. Those norms should be contained not in the law on the Supreme Soviet but in its statutes, and also that a number of norms of the mentioned draft do not comply with the Constitution. You did not support my point of view and adopted the law on the Supreme Soviet in the first reading.

I must also reply to deputy Leanid Barshchewski: I did not suggest amendments to that law for its second reading since I considered the adoption of such a law inexpedient. However, for its second reading the law was prepared incorporating a large number of amendments, especially in the section on guarantees of the Supreme Soviet deputies. On 21 December 1994, the Supreme Soviet adopted by the constitutional majority and with applause from the deputies the law on its activities and on its social guarantees. Yes, the deputies need guarantees. However, when we were all nominated, including myself, and elected as deputies of the current Supreme Soviet, yours and mine social guarantees were not at issue. Many of us in our election speeches promised to fight against the privileges of the then party nomenklatura and to look, first of all, after the interests of electors and not our own.

However, already in one of the first laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet, I mean the law on the status of the people's deputies of the Republic of Belarus, the Supreme Soviet decided on quite a high level of social protection for the deputies. Let me remind you that that law was adopted in 1991 at the time when the state still had capacities to provide social guarantees for the deputies. Directly before the elections of the new Supreme Soviet, already in a different economic situation when the majority of the population are below the poverty line, you wanted to review your economic and social guarantees. It is your right, esteemed deputies. Nevertheless, I cannot fail to note that such an attitude can be used as an example by the future Supreme Soviet. When I studied the nature and the volume of those guarantees, it became clear that the social guarantees of the Supreme Soviet deputies apparently differ from the level of social protection of other categories of the population.

But again, it is up to your conscience and I will not dwell on it further. I add to that only that some time ago we made a decision to provide those deputies who work as deputies full time, despite the opinion of many people in this Supreme Soviet, but unfortunately it was passed by the majority, with individual apartments with all modern conveniences. And many deputies, as it is known today, having successfully moved to Minsk, left their previous apartments, regrettably, to their relatives, and so on and so forth. By the way, I know that today the Supreme Soviet is investigating the apartments that were unlawfully distributed and allocated in the Supreme Soviet to the deputies who worked there full time, including and especially during the last year when the term of the Supreme Soviet had practically expired. But you will be informed about it by the Supreme Soviet chairman who is well-informed about the situation, and I think he will do it soon.

However, I would like to touch upon somewhat different issues connected with the law on the Supreme Soviet, and those issues are to do with noncompliance of this law with the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus. I have already noted in my speech that the president must, under the Constitution, take measures to secure political and economic stability. Political stability in the republic must be based, among other things, on the principles of division of authorities, according to Article 6 of the Constitution. I will remind to you of that article. The state, I am quoting, is based on the principle of division of authorities: Legislative, executive, and legal. State bodies are independent within their authority, I emphasize this on purpose, they interact with each other, restrain, and balance off each other. I would like to dwell from these positions on my proposals that you have rejected. By the way it is an unprecedented case. I spoke about it today at the meeting with veterans. Even the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, which was gunned down [rasstrelyannyy] could never afford to reject without consideration the norms submitted by the head of state. And I was asking you to consider those norms separately. Nevertheless, two-thirds of you voted against, having ignored my official address to the Supreme Soviet.

First of all, I proposed to exclude Part 2 of Article 4 that stipulates that the Supreme Soviet is the guarantor of the laws of the Constitution and international obligations of the state, as well as the rights and freedoms of citizens. If we look at many of the constitutional norms, this concerns Articles 2, 21, 25, and others, there it is not the Supreme Soviet and president who guarantee rights of citizens, it is the state. The state is not just the Supreme Soviet. It is the

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president, courts, and other state bodies. If the Supreme Soviet wants to become the only guarantor of rights and freedoms of citizens and to be responsible for it too, well, it is a wish of the Supreme Soviet, but in my opinion it does not comply with the Constitution.

I also proposed an amendment to Article 7 of the Law on the Supreme Soviet, in accordance with which the Supreme Soviet is deemed to have full power when half of the total number of deputies have been elected. At the same time, I was proceeding from general state interests. The majority system, adopted by you, which includes two rounds of voting and is based on the principle of the absolute majority will no doubt cause large expenditure during elections. Besides, the election process itself will become longer because the active participation of voters is doubtful, especially if a second round is held. Therefore, the president proposed a different approach that will grant full rights to the new composition of the Supreme Soviet. The Constitution envisages that the Supreme Soviet should adopt a decision by the majority of the number of elected deputies.

I must note that the mentioned norm of the Law on Supreme Soviet is connected with other issues—the issue of the date of elections to the Supreme Soviet. The Constitution envisages that the term of power of the Supreme Soviet to be five years, and Article 91 of the Constitution stipulates that the Supreme Soviet remains in power until the opening of the first session of the new Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet scheduled elections for 14 May 1995. I want to remind you that the elections for the current composition of the Supreme Soviet took place in March 1990 and the first session—on 14 May 1990. Thus, if two rounds are held and because of the need to elect not less than two-thirds of the total number of deputies, the current Supreme Soviet has considerably extended the term of its power, which runs against the Constitution. However, that is a different matter.

My amendment to Article 10 of the Law of the Supreme Soviet on the basis of which the Supreme Soviet exercises its rights of ownership in relations to the property of the Republic of Belarus has provoked heated debates. There are no such definitions in the legislation like: Will exercise the rights of an owner. If the Supreme Soviet is an owner of the property where other state bodies are, since the property of the Republic of Belarus is the property of the state, it is the property of our people. In any case, I cannot understand how the Supreme Soviet can, not being the owner, exercise the rights of such. By adopting Article 39 of the Law on the Supreme Soviet you limited the rights of the subjects of legislative initiative to introduce draft resolutions of the Supreme Soviet, including your own rights as deputies to introduce draft resolutions. I do not think that such a norm complies with Article 90 of the Constitution. The commission for issues of the building of the state has also agreed with it. I must also say that by adopting Article 43 of the Law on the Supreme Soviet of the republic the Supreme Soviet has secured its exclusive competence to adopt laws on regulating a number of public relations. Yes, the Supreme Soviet is the only legislative body. However, its competence is strictly determined by Article 83 of the Constitution, under which the Supreme Soviet can solve issues in accordance with the Constitution. But the Constitution does not envisage the exclusive competence of the Supreme Soviet.

In my opinion, the Supreme Soviet, having secured in Article 83 the power of the presidium to organize and provide the activities of the Control Chamber and the Procurator's Office, has violated Article 89 of the Constitution, under which the Supreme Soviet Presidium is set up only for organizing work of the Supreme Soviet and not for providing activities of other state bodies.

I also believe that having adopted a decision on an obligatory effect of resolutions of the Supreme Soviet and not having stipulated a scope of issues on which they can be taken, the Supreme Soviet made it possible for itself to interfere in the activities of the executive power. But this is a different matter and it will also be considered separately.

Esteemed deputies of the Supreme Soviet, I do not want to point out other faults of this Law on the Supreme Soviet, including noncompliance of the articles on guarantees of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet with the current legislation. In the long run, the faults, which have been pointed out, can be removed. However, I would like to dwell on the following: Having adopted the law on the Supreme Soviet without taking account of the proposals of the president, the Supreme Soviet has damaged the balance of power in the state and, in my opinion, a number of provisions of the Constitution. In accordance with Point 20 of Article 100 of the Constitution, I must sign that law within [word indistinct] period.

Esteemed citizens, I cannot do that. But in order to provide political stability in society and the constitutional law, I will use all other constitutional methods in order to restore justice in this case. I must tell you honestly that I will make use of that if today, our last day, we do not reach the view that we must return to that law and remove just those violations of the Constitution that are connected with the adoption of this draft law. Thank you for attention, esteemed deputies, I have completed my address. [end recording]

[Correspondent] However, the deputies did not after all make any decisions after the address of the president, and until the end of their working day discussed problems in agricultural production. Only at the end of the session did Supreme Soviet Chairman Mycheslaw Hryb, say:

[Begin Hryb recording] I want to ask you for advice, esteemed deputies. First of all, after we have had some time to calm down a little after the address of Alyaksandr Gygoravich Lukashenka. We now cannot and have no right to return straight away and review the decision and the law that we have adopted. You know that in accordance with the Constitution, if the president in three days' time does not sign the law, it is considered as signed after three days. It is envisaged by Point 20 of Article 100 of our Constitution. You know that when we were considering

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that law, we took into account the assurance of the chairman of the commission for issues of the building of the state, and we also made an entry into the protocol that after this law has been signed, or is deemed signed, we will return to that law because a whole number of articles have to be somewhat amended. Therefore, today it is not possible for us to unfold those debates and so on. [end recording]

[Correspondent] This is where the deputies completed their work today.

Lukashenka To Annul Bill on Parliament

LD0302145695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1437 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk, Feb 3 (INTERFAX-WEST)—At the evening session of parliament Thursday [2 February], Belarussian President Oleksandr Lukashenka declared that he would annul the bill on parliament passed by the legislature.

"I am obliged to sign the bill within three days, however, I will not do so and will resort to all legitimate measures so that the bill will not become an act," Lukashenka said.

He is sure that by passing the bill, members of parliament will "tip the balance of power in the republic and create enormous social tension in society." By doing so, he added, lawmakers "wished to be the sole guarantor of the rights and freedoms of citizens in the republic." However, such a guarantee, in his opinion, is the duty of the state and all its bodies.

Lukashenka also believes that the lawmakers had violated the constitution by scheduling new parliamentary elections for May 14, thereby extending their powers by six weeks.

Last December, the legislature passed the bill on parliament by the constitutional majority (two thirds of the votes). Speaking on the republic's television, Lukashenka bitterly criticized the legislation and returned it to parliament for further debate. The president proposed that if parliament did not reaffirm its earlier decision, it should reword some bill clauses and debate them anew.

On January 28, without discussing the presidential proposals, legislators re-pledged support for the bill, passing it by constitutional majority again. Unsurprisingly, Lukashenka decided to initiate a case in the republic's Constitutional Court.

Deputy Interior Minister on Power-Seeking Mafia Clans

LD0302151095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, Feb 3 (Interfax-West)—On Thursday [2 February] in Minsk, the republic's Deputy Interior Minister Sergey Rukhlyadiyev declared to journalists that organized criminal groups really do exist in Belarus and are making attempts to become part of the power structure.

He believes that Belarus' mafia clans are ready not only to finance elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet scheduled for this spring but to nominate its candidates.

Rukhlyadiyev believes that the representatives of organized crime have enough money for this. Their assets probably exceed the republic's state budget, he said.

Belarus' Interior Ministry knows about 30 criminal organizations which act on Belarusian territory, which have about 200 imported cars at their disposal.

Speaking on organized crime Rukhlyadiyev said that all commercial structures were tied to the clans. The militia know that owners of commercial enterprises transfer to the criminal world about 10 percent of their turnover every month. Rukhlyadiyev believes that this situation "is not due to the helplessness of the militia but the helplessness of the legislation in force in the republic."

Rukhlyadiyev also reported that employees of the republic's Interior Ministry detained a 14-strong group of killers who have committed contract murders on the territory of Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan during the last few years.

Moldova

Snegur Returns From U.S., Says Visit Met Objectives

LD0302142295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, Feb 3 (Interfax)—The Moldovan delegation "is content with the results of its visit to the United States: it met 100 percent of its objectives," Moldovan President Mircea Snegur said at Chisinau airport Friday [3 February] morning on return from the United States.

According to Snegur, "the United States threw its full weight behind the Moldovan economic and democratic reforms."

In response to journalists' questions, Snegur said that he "maintains good relations with both Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin."

CIS To Draft 'Special Juridical Status' for Dniester

AU0302195095 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2150 GMT 1 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow-Chisinau, BASA-PRESS, 1/2/1995—The CIS Interparliamentary Assembly intends to contribute to the elaboration of a special juridical status for Dniester, stated in Moscow at a press conference Valerian Viktorov, vice chairman of the Russian Parliament's Upper Chamber. In the near future a CIS Parliamentary Assembly experts' group will

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examine the drafts of special status and will make concrete proposals. According to Viktorov, the Assembly intends to present its points of view on how to settle the Dniester dispute, presumably, at the reunion of CIS heads of state to be held in February in Almaty. A top official of the Moldovan Foreign Ministry called the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly's intention "very useful for our activity for settling the Dniester conflict, especially since we will benefit from the assistance of prestigious representatives of this organization, who have a rich experience of settling similar disputes in other regions of the CIS."

Russian, Tiraspol Officials Discuss 14th Army Withdrawal

AU0302194895 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2150 GMT 1 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol, BASAPRESS, 1/2/1995—Today, a group of Russian diplomats and officers headed by Vladimir Kitayev, head of the Russian delegation to the 14th Army withdrawal negotiations, arrived in Tiraspol. The military group comprising the delegation is headed by General Lieutenant Aleksandr Sokolov, Russian ground troops deputy commander. The delegation met with General Aleksandr Lebed, 14th Army commander, and Dniester leadership, including Igor Smirnov. The visiting objective is to finalize and sign a package of documents appended to the 14th Army withdrawal agreement signed on October 21, 1994. The documents will concern the Russian soldiers' status in Moldova, their social protection, shipment of military equipment and other aspects. BASAPRESS learned from the Moldovan Foreign Ministry that it is not planned to sign the agreements on the 14th Army withdrawal schedule. Tomorrow, the Russian delegation will negotiate with the Moldovan delegation headed by Nicolae Osmochescu, deputy foreign minister.

Dniester Talks on 14th Army Pullout Summarized

AU0302202895 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 0207 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol BASAPRESS, 2/2/1995—Yesterday, representatives of the OSCE, Moscow leadership, and officials of the self-proclaimed Gagauz Republic visited Tiraspol and conferred with the Dniester leaders. Russian special envoy Vladimir Kitayev, head of the Russian delegation to the 14th Army withdrawal negotiations met with Dniester President Igor Smirnov, Defense Minister Stanislav Hazheyev, and Presidential Counselor on Military Affairs Stefan Kitsak. They discussed the 14th Army withdrawal agreement signed in October 1994. Reliable sources told BASA that Tiraspol officials insisted that Russian troops be withdrawn with the condition of granting Dniester a special status and leaving it with the Russian Army's military equipment. Also yesterday, Kitayev met with General Aleksandr Lebed, 14th Army commander. The Russian troops press service did not issue details on the discussion.

According to Dniester Radio, the Dniester leadership thinks that all 14th Army's assets "belong to the Dniester people" and should be distributed as such "following the existing legal documents." The agreement stipulates that a third of the 14th Army assets be transferred to Moldova. Earlier, Moldovan Parliament Speaker Petru Lucinschi, commenting on this stipulation, said that the use of the barracks and other buildings situated on the left bank [of the Dniester River] will be settled at later negotiations between Chisinau and Tiraspol. Lucinschi referred in particular to the Tighina (Bender) fortress, which could be transformed into a tourist attraction site and the resulting earnings could be divided between the central and local budgets.

Also yesterday, Russian special envoys Vladlen Vasev and Vladimir Spirin conferred with the so-called Dniester President Smirnov. They discussed the socio-political and economic situation in Dniester and the problems to be examined at the meeting between Tiraspol and Chisinau officials. Vladimir Spirin stated to BASA that the meeting's objectives were "to prepare the ground" for a new meeting between Mircea Snegur and Igor Smirnov. The scheduled Snegur-Smirnov meeting was also discussed yesterday at the meeting of Grigori Marakutsa, Dniester speaker, with OSCE Mission to Moldova representatives Leon Waszinski and Tamas Buhaly. According to the Tiraspol official news agency OLVIYA-PRESS, Marakutsa dwelled upon the recent visit by a joint Chisinau-Tiraspol delegation to the Finnish province of Oland. He said that Dniester cannot mechanically take over the region's special status because Dniester has its specific features.

The Tiraspol speaker also tackled the problem of distribution of loans granted to Moldova by international organizations. Marakutsa complained that "Dniester received nothing." On the same day, Marakutsa met with Stepan Topal and Mikhail Kendigelyan, Gagauz Republic's leaders. Official sources relayed that the three discussed the recent law on Gagauz Yeri-Gaguzia autonomy passed by the Moldovan Parliament. The Gagauz side referred to certain "difficulties that arose in the implementation of the law." The quoted sources did not mention what difficulties the Gagouz leaders referred to.

Dniester Authorities Lay Claim to 14th Army Property

LD0402135895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1326 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Aprelev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol February 4 TASS—The authorities of the self-styled Dniester Republic have laid claim to all the property of the 14th Russian Army and have categorically prohibited its removal from their territory. In this way Tiraspol is trying to prevent the implementation of the agreements reached between the Russian and Moldovan plenipotentiary delegations in Chisinau on Friday on the terms of the withdrawal of the 14th Army from the Moldovan Republic.

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The principal dispute focused on the future of the weapons, now belonging to the 14th Army, after its withdrawal from the Dniester area.

Head of the Russian delegation to the talks Vladimir Kitayev told a press conference in Chisinau on Friday that the army would take with it some of the property, while the remaining part of the weapons and ammunition would be sold or demolished on the spot on agreement with the Moldovan side.

In reply to this statement, Dniester leader Igor Smirnov issued on the same day an order, "categorically prohibiting the removal from the republic's territory of all the material values belonging to the 14th Army." All the property of the army was declared as "property of the Dniester Republic".

The reaction of General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Army, is yet to come.

The Russo-Moldovan talks on additional agreements to supplement the treaty on the withdrawal of the 14th Army from Moldova continued in Chisinau for three days running. They were held by Russian Ambassador for Special Missions Vladimir Kitayev and first deputy foreign minister of the Moldovan Republic Nikolay Osmocescu.

The sides have reached agreement on three supplements to the basic document. The first deals with the terms for the transportation of Russian troops and their property, the second—with the pensioning of former servicemen and their families, and the third—with proper cooperation to ensure international inspections of the 14th Army. The agreements were signed on February 3 for Moldova by Defense Minister Pavel Kryange. The documents will be signed for the Russian side next week. The point is that top leaders of the Russian defence minister were unable to come to Chisinau.

Lebed: No Comment on Smirnov Decree on 14th Army Property

LD0402164795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1602 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Aprelev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol February 4 TASS—The self-proclaimed Dniester Republic of Moldavia said on Saturday [4 February] it will take over the property of the 14th Russian Army after it leaves in an apparent bid to prevent the withdrawal of Russian troops.

Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Army, refused to comment on Tiraspol's move, saying that "there is no decree at hand and therefore there is nothing to comment on."

However, Lebed promised "to provide ITAR-TASS with official information (on the issue) in written form after a thorough examination of this decree."

In his decree 32 signed on February 3, 1995, Dniester Republic President Igor Smirnov said that all property of the 14th Army belongs to the republic and "categorically prohibited" its removal.

An agreement on the terms of the withdrawal of the 14th Army was reached by the Russian and Moldovan official delegations in Chisinau on Friday.

Vladimir Kitayev, head of the Russian delegation to the talks, said at a press conference in Chisinau on Friday that the army would take with it some of the property, while the remaining part of weapons and ammunition would be sold or destroyed on the spot under an agreement with the Moldovan side.

In reply to this statement, Dniester leader Igor Smirnov issued an order "categorically prohibiting the removal from the republic's territory of all property belonging to the 14th Army" and announcing it "the Dniester Republic's property".

During the three-day talks the sides agreed three additional agreements to supplement the main document on the withdrawal of the 14th Army from Moldova.

The first one lays out the terms of transportation of Russian troops and their property. The second agreement deals with pensions for former servicemen and their dependents, and the third one envisages international inspections of the 14th Army.

The agreements were signed by Moldovan Defence Minister pavel Kryange. Russia will sign the documents next week since its Defence Ministry leaders failed to come to Chisinau.

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Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev: CIS Leaders To Adopt Documents at Summit

LD0402102595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1843 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMATY, Feb 3 (Interfax)—The CIS leaders will discuss and adopt several important documents during their summit in Almaty on February 10, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev told journalists today.

He said the CIS leaders would also consider the Kazakhstan proposal that a pact on CIS peace and stability be concluded. Nazarbayev said he believed the pact is an important document as CIS leaders face ending all bloodshed in the CIS on their own.

The CIS summit is expected to elect the leading body of the Inter-State Economic Committee, the chairman of the committee's collegium and to approve the schedule for its work.

Nazarbayev said there were many collective defense issues to be discussed.

Nazarbayev said that the ideas of the Eurasian Union were being implemented step by step. He reminded that it was he who had proposed the idea of concluding the economic and customs union recently signed by Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus, as well as the agreement on collective defense in line with the project for a Eurasian Union. Nazarbayev said he believed that the CIS countries would come to a stage where they would have to coordinate legislation. He said CIS countries would closely cooperate in opening borders and creating a single space covering Russia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Belarus. Nazarbayev said CIS parliaments would also interact closely.

Nazarbayev stressed that he did not intend to raise all these issues at the CIS summit. He said, "Integration should be at two speeds: some want, others don't, no doubt time is necessary for everyone to decide."

President Urges Implementation of Social Policy

LD0502112595 Almaty Kazakhstan Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An expanded-format meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers on the results of the republic's socioeconomic development in 1994, and the main guidelines for the economy in 1995, was held at the residence of the president of Kazakhstan today.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Today's expanded-format Saturday meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers was perhaps immeasurably more important than any of the earlier ones. It is not just that virtually the entire leadership of the country took part in it. The agenda, which examined the results of the republic's socioeconomic development in 1994 and the main guidelines for economic development in 1995, simply spoke for itself. Reports were made by Economy Minister Altay Tileuberdin, Finance Minister Aleksandr Pavlov, Social Welfare Minister Baykarim Totenov, and Sarybay Kalmyrzayev, the chairman of the State Committee for State Property.

It was no coincidence that Social Welfare Minister Totenov's report was heard in this forum, because the entire government program aimed at getting out of economic crisis is directed principally toward improving the lives of people in the republic and protecting senior citizens and the less well-off population groups. This item of the program was particularly stressed by the president of our country when he summed up the meeting.

[President Nursultan Nazarbayev] I am now instructing everyone, especially the heads of administration, to drop all other business as soon as you get home and address yourselves to all the decisions which we have made before—the decrees and resolutions on social security, the establishment of funds, the opening of shops, canteens and special cut-price shops, organizing shops to collect second-hand clothes, giving everything available to people with large families, who really are in a difficult position, and without insulting their dignity, without humiliating them—simply helping each one of them according to a list of names. Can we not do this?

Look, I have told you that we only have 90,000 participants in the Great Patriotic War and fewer than 40,000 war invalids in all of Kazakhstan. In order to get through this tightest, most difficult period of reform, we need this category of people to be for us and to understand why we are going in this direction. Why do we demand such sacrifices of people? Because we are doing this for a better life for them, and we do not want to prolong this burden on the population for a long time. We want to get through this period as rapidly as possible.

[Correspondent] It would not really be fair if we failed to mention that the government headed by Prime Minister Akezhan Kazhegeldin completed 100 days in office in recent days.

[Kazhegeldin] I understand that 100 days is too long for society, but it is not long enough for us. So whatever we might say, both sides will remain unsatisfied with something. I do not think 100 days is a period in which one can talk about some kind of progress. After all, we came to office when the whole situation was collapsing. What do you think, can one halt anything in 100 days? No.

The only really important thing is that we tried to work for those 100 days and not simply sit there. We pulled the regulatory groundwork together and submitted it to the Supreme Assembly. We are continuing the policies which we especially intensified in the second half of the 1994.

The inflation rate has been falling for seven months now. To our satisfaction, there has been a growth in industrial production for the past five months.

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You see how we live. We used to live with the five-year plans for years, and today we count each month. It is difficult to say now that there has been any success, that there is light at the end of the tunnel, and that we can applaud ourselves. Unfortunately, I cannot say this. But that, too, is an indication that the mechanism which we have started rolling has begun to produce results. We are now more certain that we are on the right path, and we intend to deepen these processes. [end recording]

Government Solution Splits Miners

LD0402143795 Almaty KARAVAN-BLITS in Russian 2 Feb 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Fisticuffs at the Pit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Cabinet of Ministers went some of the way to meet the miners. But it did not reach them.

The long-awaited resolution on additional measures to ensure the normal functioning of the coal industry has been signed in the Cabinet of Ministers. Apart from resolving the current problems of miners, this document works out further prospects for the work of the industry for the whole of 1995.

First, the demands of the miners of Karaganda and Ekibastuz have been satisfied on the whole. It was decided to settle accounts with them by selling the manufactured products of the Karaganda metallurgical industrial complex and of the Yermak ferro-alloy plant, which is worth 1.5 billion tenge in all.

Second, payment of the debts of the Karagandaugol and Ekibastuz-Komer associations to the budget and payment for credits of 3 billion tenge have been postponed until 1 January 1996. And the payment of the debts postponed from May to December 1994 will be made by supplying coal to state reserves. By the way, the old debts have reached 3.3 billion tenge.

And finally, the Cabinet of Ministers has obliged both companies to complete the main work aimed at closing down four mines in Karaganda and one open-cast mine in Ekibastuz, saying "boys, you make savings too."

On 31 January the miners tightly surrounded the wing of the holding company, Karagandaugol. They carried no posters in their hands and shouted no slogans. Instead there was dismay in their eyes and voices. They are waiting...

Of 23 mines in the coalfield, the Shakhtinskaya and Lenin mines have resumed work. Two sections of the Kostenko mine have followed suit. The workers of these enterprises have been partially paid using the money with which the metallurgists settled accounts with the miners.

A few days ago the miners of the Kostenko pit got involved in an unconcealed fight. The fight took place between those who have been given some "cake" and those who got nothing. It is just one case, but it shows that the wise administrators have not forgotten the principle of "divide and rule."

Recalling that it is people who are drowning that should rescue themselves, the heads of the holding company, Karagandaugol, took the decision to open a payments account at every coal mining enterprise. This privilege seems very frightening to the personnel of unprofitable mines.

Kyrgyzstan

Prime Minister Optimistic About Elections

LD0502163195 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 1338 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Elections to the Supreme Council are taking place today. Given the importance of these elections to a new two-chamber parliament, which will actively assist economic reform once it is elected and which will help create reliable legal foundations for defending the vital interests of working people by drafting and passing laws, Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev voted in his place of residence. He gave an interview to journalists and answered questions from foreign observers who are following the progress of the elections. Prime Minister Abbas Dzhumagulov did the same. Here is an interview which Prime Minister Abbas Dzhumagulov gave to our correspondent:

[Begin Dzhumagulov recording] First, this parliament we are electing for the first time will essentially decide the fate of the economic and cultural development of our Kyrgyzstan. We are assuming that parliament will be associated with many of the most important decisions it has to make. We consider that parliament must be truly professional; one which functions on a professional, qualified, and highly competetent basis, and of course a parliament that thinks about the fate of Kyrgyzstan's people, the fate of every single person in Kyrgyzstan.

I assume—I am quite certain in assuming—that parliament will be a body that assists in bring about even greater reforms than those we are pursuing today. I am sure that parliament will be like this, because our entire destiny and future are bound up with an acceleration of the reforms we are pursuing.

I am glad to some extent that this big political campaign has come to an end, because we still have to do the work; because for whatever reason, for the last one and a half or two months, especially the last month, we have all been involved in political activities.

In speeding up the conclusion of the elections....[pauses] We imagine it will not end with this one round, and I think the second round will be held on 19 February. The Central Election Commission will decide this. I think we will start working on the affairs of the world hand in hand with parliament. [end recording]

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Elections Declared Valid; 'Minor Violations' Noted

LD0502135395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1331 GMT 5 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bishkek, 5 Feb—The parliamentary elections in Kyrgyzstan have been declared valid. The press service of the Republic's Central Electoral Committee reports that 62 percent of the country's two million-plus eligible voters had cast their vote by 1700 local time. The lowest turnout was in the Kyrgyz capital where a turnout of 51 percent was recorded.

The 56 foreign observers in the Republic recorded minor violations during the electoral campaign.

Analyst Discusses Parliamentary Elections

LD0502170095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1441 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bishkek, Feb 5 (INTERFAX)—Parliamentary elections are taking place in Kyrgyzstan in a situation when political parties are just taking shape and the population lacks clear-cut political guidelines, Damira Sartbayeva, an expert of the Kyrgyz president's International Institute for Strategic Studies, told Interfax.

She said that in a situation when the majority of the electors barely know the candidates, voting in Bishkek and other cities would "most likely be based on a simple procedure: Russians will vote for Russians, Kyrgyz for Kyrgyz and residents of rural regions for those who live and work in rural regions."

She also said that many of the prominent public and political figures who live in the capital, run for parliament as representatives of distant rural districts where they were born. For instance, well-known writer Chinghiz Aitmatov runs for parliament as a representatives of his native Talass Region and has only two rivals, and speaker of the former parliament Meditkan Sherimkulov—in the Sokuluk Region, where he is contested by three other candidates. In other electoral districts eight to seven candidates compete for a deputy's mandate.

The possibility that the future parliament will lack professionals - lawyers, economists and politicians - is very high, said Sartbayeva. "It will be a parliament mostly consisting of managers of major state enterprises, directors of joint-stock societies and former government bureaucrats, and having just a few private entrepreneurs," said Sartbayeva.

New Information Agency Established

LD0302130095 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Feb 95

[Decree issued by the president on setting up the Kyrgyz National Telecommunications and Information Agency, KABAR - place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the aim of improving the supply of information to the people and raising the standards of supplying information about the activities of state bodies in the Kyrgyz Republic in market conditions, I decree:

1. The proposal by the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on setting up the Kyrgyz National Telecommunications and Information Agency, KABAR, on the basis of the KYRGYZKABAR state information agency is accepted.

2. The state secretary under the president of the Kyrgyz Republic and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic are to submit within a month a proposal on a candidate for the post of director of the Kyrgyz National Telecommunications and Information Agency, KABAR.

The leadership of the Kyrgyz National Telecommunications and Information Agency, KABAR, is to be placed on the presidential press secretary of the Kyrgyz Republic, Bayalinov, until a director is appointed.

3. The state secretary under the president of the Kyrgyz Republic and the government of the Kyrgyz Republic are to work out, in conjunction with the leadership of KABAR, regulations on the Kyrgyz National Telecommunications and Information Agency and to submit them for the consideration of the president of the Kyrgyz Republic by 1 March 1995.

[Signed] President Askar Akayev of the Kyrgyz Republic.

Tajikistan

Russian Military Said Involved in Drug Smuggling

LD0402140695 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Takikistan in Tajik 0630 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a report from the department for fighting smuggling of the Tajik National Security Ministry in Gorno-Badakhshan region, the increase in illegal transfer of narcotics, on the whole, is due to military aircraft and helicopters of Russian border troops in Tajikistan. It says that last year dozens of such crimes were discovered. For example, the report gives the following facts. Three kilograms and 42 grams of opium was discovered on the crew captain of an AN-26 aircraft belonging to the republic's Defense Ministry. Two kilograms of opium was found in the hold of an AN-26 aircraft belonging to the Russian border troops. [passage indistinct] 22.5 kilogrammes of drug was confiscated from them, the price of which is 160,000 U.S. dollars on the black market. The report says that these helicopters and aircraft flew from Dushanbe to Murgabskiy, Shurabadskiy, and Pendzhikentskiy districts. It is necessary to mention that Russian servicemen in Tajikistan have fingers in many crimes connected with drug smuggling.

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Foreign Ministry Says Opposition Violates Cease-Fire

LD0302135595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, Feb 3 (Interfax)—The armed Tajik opposition violates the temporary ceasefire agreement on the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border and inside the Tajik republic.

Friday, the head of the Information Department of Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry Zafar Saidov told Interfax that on February 1 and 2 opposition militants attempted to cross the Pyandzh river into Tajikistan in the area controled by outpost 12 of the Moskovskiy border guards unit.

Saidov quoted military sources as saying that the Russian border guards opened artillery fire on the opposition militants. Fifteen militants attempted to cross the Pyandzh on both February 1 and 2. There were no casualty reports.

Opposition Split Over Continuing Armed Struggle

LD0302144495 Dushanbe KHOVAR in Tajik 1114 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There is schism in the ranks of the opposition. Contradictions and disagreements between the leaders of the opposition armed formations, who have various opinions and views on settling the inter-Tajik conflict, still continue. A Khovar correspondent was informed of this by military sources.

At the end of January the leader of the constructively minded Rushan group held talks with other field commanders of Gornyy Badakhshan, Salam, and Abdulrashid. They discussed the expediency of holding talks with the so called commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Tajik opposition, Rizvon, to whom the Badakhashan groups are formally subordinate.

According to the military sources, Salam and Abdulrashid, being aware of the fact that further armed confrontation has no future, do not intend to have talks with Rizvon, who is practically beyond the control of the opposition leaders.

Rakhmanov Establishes Presidential Guard

LD0302163195 Dushanbe JOMHURIYAT in Tajik 21 Jan 95 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] Edict by the Tajik president on creating a presidential guard of the Republic of Tajikistan. In accordance with article 69 of the constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan, I decree:

1. A presidential guard of the Republic of Tajikistan, 1,500-men strong, is to be created.

2. By reducing the staff of the internal troops of the Tajik Interior Ministry, the personnel of military unit 3571 of the directorate of internal troops of Interior Ministry, together with their weapons, equipment, and technical base, are to be put at the disposal of the Tajik presidential guard.

3. It is established that the Tajik presidential guard is directly under the command of the Tajik president.

4. Colonel Ghaffor Rahmonovich Mirzoyev is appointed the commander of the Tajik presidential guard.

[Signed] Emomali Rakhmanov, president of the Republic of Tajikistan

[Dated] Dushanbe, 17 January 1995.

Uzbekistan

Dissatisfaction Reported as Russian Trade Pact Stalls

MK0302131095 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 3 Feb 95 p 3

[Report by Andrey Saidov: "Russian-Uzbek Talks. Signing of Agreement Postponed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An Uzbekistan Foreign Ministry delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister Shakasym Shailamov went to Moscow the other day. Both the visitors and hosts were sparing with information on the talks' results. KOMMERSANT-DAILY has come to learn they were dedicated to a trade-economic agreement for 1995.

It is being rumored in circles close to the Uzbek delegation that the visitors were generally displeased: The Russian Foreign Ministry did not pay them due attention, and the persons authorized to sign intergovernment documents did not take part in the talks on Moscow's behalf. Which is why (or this may be one of the reasons) work on and the signing of a trade agreement was postponed. This, despite the fact that both sides are interested in cooperation. Ivanovo textile factories, for example, can only use Uzbek raw material because their machinery is built to take a certain length of cotton strands; in its turn, Uzbekistan's economy largely depends on Russian supplies—equipment, fuel, petroleum products, and grain.

True, the Uzbekistan Government has repeatedly hinted that it is not going to stick to the once and forever established range of trading partners. The delay in signing the agreement, it is believed in Tashkent, will result in a reduced Russian role on the Uzbek market. True, the question of alternative energy suppliers is not being raised in the republic so far. This perhaps soothes Moscow.

Case Examined of People Trained for 'Terrorist Acts'

LD0402112795 Tashkent NARODNOYE SLOVO in Russian 4 Feb 95 p1

[Unattributed report: "In the Republic's Supreme Court"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The Uzbek Supreme Court has begun to examine the criminal case of a group of people accused of committing particularly dangerous crimes against the state.

The grounds for instituting the proceedings were a statement by the parents of a 20-year-old inhabitant of the town of Kasan. The parents said that their son has been taken abroad, supposedly for training, and they have received no word about him for the past six months. The investigation into the case uncovered people who are involved in organizing the illegal departure of unemployed young people aged between 18 and 25 to foreign countries, supposedly for training in the fundamentals of business and market economy. In fact, on arrival in the country of "training," the deceived lads were subjected to ideological instruction, taught hand-to-hand fighting and subversive activities, to shoot guns, and trained to carry out acts of sabotage and terrorism on the territory of Uzbekistan.

The court has begun considering these and other materials received during the investigation. The materials show the intentions of the organizers of this ill-intentioned conspiracy aimed at conducting terrorist acts and at undermining stability in Uzbekistan and the region as a whole.

Opposition Criticized on Election Coverage

LD0502164695 Tashkent KHALQ SOZI in Uzbek 2 Feb 95 p2

[Report by Anmvar Joraboyev, editor-in-chief of NARODNOYE SLOVO and KHALQ SOZI]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The bitter-stinking "propaganda and agitation" of the opposition, which found patronage in foreign countries, could have more or less influenced participation in the elections. From the day of the announcement of the elections to election day itself (day and night) the opposition broadcast addresses to the people of Uzbekistan from foreign radio-stations and even the parties Erk [freedom] and Birlik [unity] called for a "general boycott" of the elections. For example, one of the active members of Erk, Nomoz Normumin, drivelled this: "Dear compatriots, if you take part and vote in the 25 December elections, you will deprive yourselves of human rights. With this, you will make your contribution to the retrogression of the country, to the reinforcement of the economic crisis, and to the repression of the devoted people of the nations."

A member of Birlik, Aliboy Yulyakhshiyev, also called people to do the same, and in the end said: "Dear electors, be courageous and strong-willed, carry out your human duty honestly!"

Before, in the period of totalitarianism, we tried to shut out the voice of such radio-stations as Radio Liberty, and people who found ways of listening to them were even punished. In Uzbekistan, where a democratic society is being built, these voices are not being shut out: any person can freely listen, if you have a good enough radio receiver. Almost everybody—herdsmen and cotton growers—have radios. "The devoted people of the nation" abroad surely took this into consideration.

But none of the three factors above could influence the participation of the voters. They really demonstrated their courage and strong-will and came to the polling stations early on the frosty morning of 25 December, even old people of eighty and ninety years of age could not sit in their houses. Out of the registered 11,248,464 voters, 10,526,654, or 93.6 percent of the electorate, took part in voting. In some regions, this figure was even over 97 percent. One more note from the Central Electoral Commission on this point: "The elections were conducted everywhere in an organized manner, in accordance with the law on elections, and with the participation of the people."

(Yes, our elections were held abroad too, including Russia and France. The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Uzbekistan to France, Akmal Saidov, said the following on this occasion: "For the first time in the history of Uzbekistan, elections to the Supreme Assembly took place in Paris, too. All the citizens of Uzbekistan who live in France voted for candidates nominated in the constituency where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is situated.")

The foreign press and radio-stations, which were always busy with making stinging remarks about us, had to admit it. "Seventy percent of the electorate in our republic had already voted by 1400 local time. This figure was over eighty percent in the Andizhan, Namangan, Ferghana, and Khorezm regions" (Radio Liberty, 25 December). "The voters of Uzbekistan demonstrated enormous energy. The majority of them had already voted in the morning. About eleven million people took part in the elections" (Deutsche Welle, Cologne, 25 December). Moscow radio, Radio Liberty, the BBC, and other sources broadcast the same information. Our traitors, whose appeals did not give results, were distressed and grew angry. They began to search for defects in the large participation of the electorate. Here, for example, is how Anvar Usmonov intrigued against us: "The weather was cold on election day, but this did not hinder the voters. But this does not mean that the participation of voters increased. Its reason lies elsewhere. As observers confirm, the trade which was organized at polling stations, the variety of low priced rare goods, and the tasty smell of plov [Uzbek dish made of rice and mutton] in pots attracted people to them like magnets."

Now, let us listen to the observers. Hassan Abdulgalil, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Indonesia to Uzbekistan said: "I was an observer at the 8th and 108th polling stations of 8th Traktorsozlar constituency during the elections to the Supreme Assembly. First of all, what attracted my attention was the large responsible and organized work of the electoral commissions. The fact that at places shops were organized for voters is not so usual for us. People who came to the elections had the opportunity to shop and to talk to each other."

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It should be noted that every election is a kind of public holiday. Please tell me, during what holiday in Uzbekistan is there no plov, no shops? The Indonesians knew about it, and now you have read their words, they noted it positively. But every Uzbek knows that, and as for Mr. Usmonov—he may have forgotten, because zombies lose their memories first.

So, what is the reason for the participation of the voters? The fact that the Indonesian ambassador noted that the electoral commissions worked with great responsibility and in an organized manner was, of course, of great importance. But there are many other reasons for it. One of the most characteristic of them is that the elections in our country are another daring step towards democracy and a multi-party system. You know that three sociopolitical forces took part in them—the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan, the Homeland Progress party, and local bodies of state power.

The third reason: the election campaign. It was fierce, interesting, but honest. But the worried opposition was not ashamed of showing this in the wrong way. Neither was the woman who is one of the press members of the Birlik people's movement (as Radio Liberty broadcast on 25 December), who said: "Sunday's election results were already on the table of the president." Who is this Birlik member who is able to read documents which are on the president's table? What a lie! No, it was impossible to forecast the results of the elections, or to "appoint" this or that candidate as a deputy at someone's desire and will. I am saying this as a person who witnessed the election campaign. I was nominated by Samarkand regional Council. From Bulungurskiy district where I was born, three people fought to the end to get the seat in the Supreme Assembly. If I had not conducted 62 meetings, walking from one village to another, schools (I went to about 40 schools) and residential areas, during the month every day from early morning until late, if I had not talked face-to-face with thousands of people, I could never have won.

Yes, the election campaign was very fierce. There is no other way, because for 250 seats in the Supreme Assembly, 634 candidates were nominated (of these, in 130 constituencies three people for one seat, in 106 constituencies two people for each seat.) [passage omitted]

Anvar Usmonov's brother, Lerman Usmonov, also cast aspersions on this process. On 14 January he spoke on Radio Liberty stating: "Tajiks who live in the Samarkand Region also tried to nominate their candidates. But the tactful heads and representatives of the administration quickly hit this movement on the head."

What slander! Let us leave the candidates aside, there are not only Tajiks among the elected deputies to the Supreme Assembly (including Samarkand Tajiks), but a number of other nationalities, for example, Karakalpaks, Russians, Koreans, Armenians, Jews, Kyrgyz, Turkmens, and there were even representatives of the Ossetian and Gagauz nationalities (altogether 15 nations!).

It should be mentioned that during the discussions of the draft constitution, proposals came in hundreds of letters that it would be better if people aged 40-50 were elected to the Supreme Assembly. But it is gratifying that the constitutional commission and the Supreme Council rejected this proposal and made the limit 25 years. As a result our parliament has become younger.

When one is speaking about the electoral system, it should be noted that candidates were given a number of guarantees and privileges. For example, during the election campaign they were released from their work duties and at the same time they were paid their average earnings out of the money allocated for conducting the elections. But every candidate's responsibility to his political party or representative body was also noted in the law. [passage omitted]

The election campaign took its normal course on a legal basis and in a spirit of eastern morality. No candidate claimed that their right to free contest was violated. Most candidates, most of the time would say "it is for your conscience to choose who to vote for" at meetings with the electorate, instead of making empty promises like: "Give me your vote. If I get elected I shall do such-and-such!"

To be frank, some malign individuals cherished sweet hopes of creating animosity between candidates and sowing dissension. But their dreams did not come true. On the contrary, this campaign made a worthy contribution to rallying society and further strengthening peace. It displayed once again people's solidarity, their love of freedom, their capacity for hard work, and not only the firmness of their will but their honesty and conscience as well.

A total of 205 deputies were elected to the Supreme Assembly on 25 December. In accordance with Article 43 of the Law on Election, repeat elections were held (on 8 January 1995) in 38 constituencies where none of the three nominated candidates was elected, and on 22 January in seven constituencies where neither of two candidates was elected.

Yet members of opposition groups spread the word that "the elections were spoiled and there will be no democracy". But is the situation not one which shows that there was fierce and democratic competition? [passage omitted]

On 5 May 1994 the Supreme Council passed a law guaranteeing the voting rights of citizens (no other country in the world has such a law). The law contains general and firm ideas which guarantee citizens' voting rights. It is specifically emphasized that citizens' sex, race, ethnic origin, language, religion, beliefs, identity, and social origin in no way affect their voting rights, and declared their equality before the law. This regulation is an indication of adherence to the highest democratic principles. Some countries, for example, some of the Baltic republics, divide the electorate into strata such that part of the population is deprived of the vote.

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Thus, we not only possessed the legal foundations but had gathered sufficient experience to carry out the elections. [passage omitted]

On the whole, foreigners showed a great deal of interest in the elections in Uzbekistan. On election day, a total of 70 observers from about 30 countries and international organizations, including correspondents from the Reuter and Interfax news agencies, the BBC, Ostankino Television, and the LIBERATION and NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG newspapers, as well as other foreign media correspondents attended the voting and count at the polling stations.

"Why are your elections important to the United States of America?" Henry Lee Clarke, the U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Uzbekistan, asked. "The U.S. Government believes that peace and stability in Uzbekistan is needed for peace and stability in Central Asia. If there is some incident in Uzbekistan it could eventually lead to disastrous consequences in the world on a larger scale."

I remember the following vile words which Yulyakhshiyev said on Radio Liberty on 18 December 1994 after he read out Mr. Clarke's statement: "Don't go to vote. But if it comes to it, vote against the candidates, because those candidates have been stealing the national property and will continue to do so."

While great countries like the United States show their concern for the strengthening of peace and stability in Uzbekistan, people like Birlik member Yulyakhshiyev and Erk member Normumin, led by their patrons, are undermining peace and stability in their own homeland by urging their countrymen to wreck the elections, a great political event. Is this attitude not a lack of faith in the motherland, and nothing but a crime against it?

And I still have to reply to the slanderous allegation spread by A. Yulyakhshiyev that "candidates have been stealing the national property and will continue to do so." I am not going to comment on all the candidates and the deputies elected to the Supreme Assembly (at least 40,000-45,000 people voted for each candidate in each constituency. How could they possibly have voted for someone who had robbed them?) Let me introduce you to some of them: the writers and poets Pirimqul Qodirov, Erkin Vohidov, and Abdulla Oripov; the world-famous scientists Shavkat Orazayev, Asqar Kholmurodov, Tokhtamurod Jorayev and Ne'mat Ibrohimov; the chairman of the republic's Mahalla charity fund, Shukur Temurov, world-famous artist Farrukh Zokirov, and the head of Samarkandskiy district administration, Rahima Hakimova, who installed gas in 100 percent of homes in her district and turned villages into construction sites. These and the rest of the deputies who have been elected to the parliament are people who work selflessly and do good, and only good, for the people. [passage omitted]

Tax Official Reports Misspending, Theft

LD0502112995 Tashkent Radio Mashal in Uzbek 1000 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Here is Ahmadjon Komilov, deputy head of the main tax supervision office at the Ministry of Finance:

[Begin Komilov recording] The main tax supervision office conducted 795 investigations and inspections of ministries, regional administrations, associations, establishments, self-financing enterprises, joint and small enterprises in 1994; that is 11.2 percent more than in 1993. Whereas in 1993 the amount of money identified as missing, stolen, or misspent came to 940,000 soms at 4,989 organizations, or 70.3 percent of those which were inspected, in 1994 the amount of money found to be missing, stolen, or misspent came to 42.2 million soms at 4,946 organizations, or 62.7 percent of those inspected. This means that 41.3 million soms, or 40 times the 1993 amount, was found to be missing, stolen, or misspent in 1994.

As a result of lax supervision by organizations in all regions of the republic, the money that is missing, stolen, or misspent is growing year by year. As a result of this, money was found to be missing, stolen, or misspent at between 51 and 70 percent of the organizations inspected in the Republic of Karakalpakistan, Tashkent Region, Tashkent city; and Andizhan, Bukhara, Samarkand, Surkhandarya, Ferghana, and Khorezm regions, and at between 70 and 89 percent of the organizations inspected in the Dzhizak, Kashkadarya, Navoi, Namangan, and Syrdarya regions.

Investigations by the main republican tax supervision inspectorate revealed 418 times more cases of stolen, missing, and lost money than in 1993. In Bukhara region 138 times more organizations were identified where money was stolen, missing, or lost than in 1993, an increase of 12.4 million soms. This figure grew by a factor of between 27 and 67 in the Republic of Karakalpakstan and in Andizhan, Khorezm, Namangan, Syrdarya, and Tashkent regions.

Cases of stolen, missing, and illegally spent money are growing year by year in all spheres of the national economy. To be specific, illegal spending in the amount of 5,988,000 soms was identified at 62 percent of organizations within the Agriculture Ministry that were investigated, in other words 2,657 of them; at 76.7 percent of the organizations within the Culture Ministry which were investigated, to a value of 323,000 soms; at 83 percent of organizations in the Ministry of Education which were investigated, to a value of 3,093,000 soms; at 75 percent of the organizations within the Health Ministry which were inspected, to a value of 2,627,000 soms; and at 78 percent of organizations in the Ministry of Higher Education which were inspected.

In addition, it was found that a large amount of losses were caused by missing, stolen, and misspent foreign currency in our republic. The amount missing or stolen

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was identified as U.S. dollars equivalent to 40,725,000 soms in eight organizations, 1,771,000 Japanese yen in one organization, 54,000 German marks in one organization, 3,500 pounds sterling in one organization, and 530 million Russian rubles in one organization. In particular, during investigations into the Uzbekistan-Israel joint venture UzIsrProtein it was established that 39,200 kg of cotton fiber worth $54,800 were missing. The head of the Uzbek-Trading branch firm unjustifiably gave his son $1 million to open a private enterprise.

The losses to our republic by the Uzbekkabel cable joint stock company came to $40.5 million, 1.7 million Japanese yen, 53,000 marks, 3,500 pounds, and 530 million Russian rubles. A total of $34,100, 53,000 marks, and 3 million Russian rubles were spent on foreign trips for the wives of Uzbekkabel chiefs, on tourist trips for their relatives, and on education for their children at higher educational establishments. A total of 1,771,000 Japanese yen, $1 million, and 3,500 pounds were illegally spent on a tour of the Yalla ensemble which did not take place, and on the film "The Great Silk Road," which was never made.

In addition, goods and property worth 990,000 Russian rubles and $2,500 were found to be missing at Uzbekkabel.

The documentation on all of the misappropriations, thefts, and missing funds that the main tax supervision inspectorate and its local offices identified in 1994 have been passed to the appropriate law enforcement agencies so that appropriate legal measures can be applied. [end recording]

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Armenia

Gasanov Greets French Foreign Ministry Official

NC0402202195 Yerevan SNARK in English 1135 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (SNARK-TURAN) [dateline as received]—A Secretary General of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, Bertrand Dufourcq, arrived in Baku February 3 evening by the invitation of Gasan Gasanov. In airport he was met by Minister for Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, Gasan Gasanov.

President of the country, Geydar Aliyev is expected to receive him.

Deputy Premier Welcomes Ratification of Russian Credit

LD0302182195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1629 GMT 3 Feb 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The ratification by the Russian State Duma of an agreement on granting a 110-billion-ruble credit to Armenia has confirmed that Armenia is a reliable economic partner, believes Deputy Armenian Prime Minister Vigen Chitechyan [name as received] (The agreement signed on July 4, 1994, was ratified by the lower house of the Russian parliament on January 26—IF).

According to him, the Armenian-Russian relations "continue to develop dynamically" and the agreement indicates that the two sides "put global, strategic interests higher than the tasks of the moment".

Chitechyan said that it was possible to change "some unfavorable sentiments" towards the agreement thanks to "a long and hard work" and thanks to "close contacts with representatives of different levels of the legislative and executive branches of power in Russia". He expressed hope that "after the credit was ratified by the absolute majority of Duma deputies, the following stages of its earmarking and implementation will be a success."

Chitechyan said that the credit will help to demothball the Armenian nuclear power station, for which 60 billion rubles are needed. He said that the operation of the nuclear power station will help expand industrial capacities and create new workplaces, including in places densely populated by Russian-speakers, as well as to resume the publication of textbooks and other books in Russian. In addition, part of the credit will go for the restoration of northern areas of Armenia, which suffered from the earthquake in December 1988.

Convention Ratified on Chemical Arms Prohibition

LD0402134195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1226 GMT 4 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Volkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague February 4 TASS—Armenia has become the 22nd country to ratify the convention on the prohibition of development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and their destruction, the secretariat of the preparatory commission on the establishment of an organisation on the prohibition of chemical weapons reported here on Saturday.

A press release points out that the instrument of ratification has been already handed over to the U.N. secretary general who is a depository of the convention.

The convention on the destruction and prohibition of chemical weapons which was opened for signing in Paris on January 13, 1993, will come into force 180 days after the depository receives 65th instrument of ratification.

The number of countries which signed the convention, now stands at 159. The process of ratification was completed by 22 of them.

Following the enactment of the convention, the organisation on the prohibition of chemical weapons headquartered in The Hague will carry on practical implementation of the provisions of this international document.

Opposition Continues Running Rallies

NC0302204795 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1709 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 03/02/95 NOYAN TAPAN—On February 3, 10-12 thousand people rallied on Yerevan's Liberty Square.

The representative of the Deputy [breakaway] Assembly Aram Mailyan in his speech characterized rallies as the only means of periodical contacts with the people.

Mailyan said that according to the recent public opinion survey, 87 percent of the population do not support policies held by the President and his associates. He reminded that in 1991 83 percent of the population voted for Levon Ter-Petrosyan. Mailyan emphasized that pressure exerted by the Government on the parties is a part of preparations for the forthcoming elections. According to him, the establishment of the right-wing bloc, which includes parties with extremely right views, is a part of a political struggle.

According to Mailyan, the most important task of the Deputy Assembly is the elaboration of a new law on elections, which would be a real guarantee for running democratic elections.

The leader of the Armenian Democratic Party Aram Sargisyan said that during the last four years Armenia had all opportunities to maintain its wealth, which today is being sold to private persons and even foreigners at ridiculously low prices.

The member of the Armenian Parliament, Secretary of the parliamentary Commission on Artsakh Suren Zolyan said that "authorities are preparing for the war against their

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own people. Our weapons in this struggle will be an election bulletin and a pen", - Zolyan said.

The member of the Parliament Arshak Sadoyan pointed out that opposition always avoided civil war. "However, if during the forthcoming elections there are gunmen at the ballots, we shall also take adequate measures",- Sadoyan stressed.

The rally continued near the building of the Armenian Prosecutor's Office, where the representatives of those who participated in the rally wanted to hand the Armenian Attorney-General a letter demanding the restoration of the law in the Republic. However, it became known, that the administration was absent from the Prosecutor's Office.

ARFD Suspension Decree '2 Years Too Late'

954F1170C Yerevan RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA in Russian 2 Feb 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "U.S. State Department Only Distorted the Facts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The presidential decree suspending the activity of the Dashnaktsutyun Party is at least two years too late," Yegia Nadzharyan, leader of the Social-Democratic Gnchak Party, informed an ARMENPRESS correspondent. We knew of the existence of the secret organization Dro back in the 50's. All these years, well-informed people in the West talked about secret agencies of Dashnaks and their antinational activity. Today Dro is not an embryo, but rather a marvelously developed structure. The National Security Directorate should long ago have been interested in what funds the ARFD [Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutyun] used to publish dozens of newspapers, maintain sports clubs and theaters, and purchase apartments.

Had not Levon Ter-Petrosyan published the 28 December decree, had he not thus fulfilled his duty to mankind and the nation, January would have witnessed a continuation of the chain of murders of which the authorities would be most certainly accused. The president's edict was not simply his right, but his responsibility as well. Unless the authorities stop in mid-sentence and fail to continue investigating, we will see that everything which has been said by the president concerning the ARFD is just the tip of the iceberg. If the Dashnaks reject this dangerous structure, it will be nothing short of advantageous to them, because the ARFD has always played a certain role in Armenia's history—not the mythical role that is ascribed to it, but about 10-15 percent of it. And its members have included prominent figures dedicated to the nation.

As far as statements issued by the U.S. State Department are concerned, they have only distorted the facts by making such frivolous declarations. The State Duma, with all its motley composition, will undoubtedly find the energy to repulse such irresponsible statements.

Chechnya Effects on Karabakh Peace Process

954F1148A Yerevan VREMYA in Russian 28 Jan 95 p 1

[Interview with Shavarsh Kocharyan, deputy chairman of the Commission of the Supreme Council of Armenia for Foreign Relations, by correspondent Artem Yerkanyan; place and date not given: "The Events in Chechnya Could Affect the Process of a Settlement of the Karabakh Problem"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Yerkanyan] How, in your view, might Turkish politicians make use of the Chechen war in the confrontation with Russia for the Caucasus?

[Kocharyan] The overall unpropitious background that has arisen as a result of the protracted hostilities in Chechnya will force Russia to retreat on some issues. Only a state that calls the tune on all issues does not retreat in such cases. And Russia cannot permit itself this. Russia's shaken image is not even what is most frightening, possibly. Russia is a multinational state. The Chechen war is inevitably influencing the relations of the federal authorities and the components of the Federation, which could undermine stability in the country—the main condition of movement toward progress.

[Yerkanyan] What you are talking about is too obvious not to have been recognized in Russia's political leadership. What, then, prompted the development of events in the direction in which they are continuing to develop?

[Kocharyan] First and foremost, the internal political struggle in the upper echelons of power in Russia. Account must be taken of both the shaky position of Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and the forthcoming presidential elections. The temptation to strengthen one's positions by a lightning war in Chechnya was very great.

[Yerkanyan] Let us examine the Chechen events in the prism of Armenia's interests.

[Kocharyan] The Chechen war is of interest to us primarily in the aspect of influence on the process of a settlement of the Karabakh conflict.

[Yerkanyan] Russia has never truly been committed to the principle of national self-determination. There is an explanation for this—the presence of components of the Federation aspiring to ever greater independence. The Chechen crisis is prompting the Kremlin to adopt a tougher attitude toward this international norm. At the same time, on the other hand it is customary to believe that Russia's strategic interests in the region demand the further strengthening of Armenia. But the possibility of the application of an eyesore double standard is highly problematical for Moscow inasmuch as, I repeat, Russia is not today in a position where it can dictate terms without heeding the opinion of the world community.

Besides, as I have already said, the current situation is facilitating the task of Russia's rivals—preventing Russia's monopoly performance of the role of peacemaker

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and regulating factor in the region. A strengthening of the positions of Turkey cannot, as you yourself understand, be to our liking.

In a word, the events in Chechnya give much cause for concern.

NKR Official Calls For Peace First, Talks Later

NC0302153995 Yerevan SNARK in English 1100 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Stepanakert, February 3 (SNARK)—NKR [Nagorno-Karabakh Republic] supports efforts of International Community, in particular, OSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, CSCE] and Russia, on strengthening cease-fire regime in a zone of Karabakh-Azerbaijani conflict. This was reported today by Press Secretary of NKR President, Aleksandr Grigoryan.

According to him, official Stepanakert considers, that in peace-keeping process the military-technical issues, having in mind finally distribution of peace-keeping forces between conflicting parties should be of the first priority. Only then a package of political issues should be studied. Meanwhile, press secretary noted, the issue of territories is also of political character. That's why it should be discussed exclusively in terms of general political regulation.

Vanand Populace Forces Police To Leave

954F1170B Yerevan VREMYA in Russian 1 Feb 95 p 1

[Unattributed article: "The People Allow No Harm To Come to Elchibey"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to an NFA [expansion not identified] press center report, police units from Ordubad and Nakhichevan were sent to the village of Vanand, near the village of Kyalyak where ex-president Abulfaz Elchibey is staying, ostensibly to protect the populace from illegal armed formations. The Vanand populace was indignant that the authorities took such a step. The police were forced to leave in order to avoid clashes with the population.

In this regard, the NFA issued a statement characterizing the escalation of tension in this region as an attempt to exert forceful pressure on Abulfaz Elchibey, and categorized such steps by the authorities as leading to intensified civil opposition. The NFA holds republic authorities entirely responsible for any confrontation that might occur.

Dashnaks 'Ready for Dialogue'

954F1148C Yerevan VREMYA in Russian 28 Jan 95 p 1

[Interview with Seyran Bagdasaryan, leader of the Dashnaktsutyun parliamentary faction, by correspondent Mikhail Shakhsuvaryan; place and date not given: "'The ARFD Is Ready for Dialogue With the Authorities,' But Do the Authorities Share This Readiness?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Shakhsuvaryan] The recent statement of the U.S. State Department concerning political events in Armenia may be seen as being quite well disposed toward Dashnaktsutyun. As we can see, the party regards this statement as support for its positions.

[Bagdasaryan] I personally am not inclined to view such statements as support. It is simply that they ensue from the general context of the relations with the rest of the world that have taken shape for the republic. Of course, the United States, which has done so much for Armenia (I refer to the millions in credit and other assistance), is entitled to hope that the democratic processes in our republic will assume sufficiently real contours. Nor will we deny that for almost a century representatives of Dashnaktsutyun have taken an active part in various American social and political structures. Their activity has become well known here and has earned sufficient authority for the party. It may be said with confidence, therefore, that a few criminal cases, in which individual personalities figure, could hardly seriously influence the attitude toward Dashnaktsutyun.

The statement of the U.S. State Department will not be the only one. There will be more as time goes by—including on the part of international law enforcement organizations. Nonetheless, as a citizen, as a member of Dashnaktsutyun and a public figure, I believe that we ourselves can resolve our problems from within. It is essential for this that the doors leading to mutual understanding remain somewhat ajar. The people instituting political vandalism should be aware of this. But the point is that government circles are making the "chink in the door" smaller and smaller. As far as we are concerned, we are ready for dialogue for the removal of contradictions and a return to square one.

[Shakhsuvaryan] As far as we know, the Dashnaktsutyun Party has not yet made an official statement concerning the Dro organization.

[Bagdasaryan] I myself only heard about it on 28 December during the president's speech. And an official statement... Judge for yourself: Can a party whose activity has been suspended issue a statement? We deputies from the ARFD [Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutyun], being only a part of it, remain representatives in the highest legislative body. Acting without all-party support, after our news media have been closed down, would be the same as appearing in an opera without props and without an orchestra. I have to say that, in the event of government circles agreeing to a dialogue, we, for our part, are also ready to contribute to an investigation of the accusations that are being made.

[Shakhsuvaryan] During a recent meeting organized by the Union for National Accord, posters hinted unambiguously that Ambartsum Galstyan's killers were not members of the ARFD. Can you confirm this?

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[Bagdasaryan] I do not have information that could confirm or refute this. And I do not know who prepared the posters. One thing is obvious—not one political force in the republic has benefited from this murder. This applies both to Dashnaktsutyun and to Levon Ter-Petrosyan. Forces outside of Armenia benefited.

[Shakhsuvaryan] Who precisely?

[Bagdasaryan] Analyze for yourself. This played into the hands of our enemies, the enemies of Armenia.

[Shakhsuvaryan] Are all members of the faction part of the Deputies' Assembly?

[Bagdasaryan] Except for one, who is a deputy from Karabakh. This is his personal affair.

[Shakhsuvaryan] It is apparent from statements of the Deputies' Assembly that the opposition is about to discuss its own draft election law and its own draft constitution. Does this make sense? Unless you are taking part in parliamentary business, "internal" discussion becomes, in fact, an end in itself...

[Bagdasaryan] The point is that the Deputies' Assembly is in this case acting as a united front. We will influence the discussion of issues in parliament.

[Shakhsuvaryan] You will return to meetings of the Supreme Council, that is?

[Bagdasaryan] The Deputies' Assembly stated in its announcements earlier that it would prevent the opposition from attending meetings of the Supreme Council. But I do not rule out us taking part in them in the future, presenting demands and statements.

P.S. As ascertained in the Dashnaktsutyun faction, the report of the newspaper LRAGIR that, according to certain information, Grayf Karapetyan, a member of the ARFD Central Committee, and also two of his colleagues had been arrested does not correspond to reality.

Liberal Democrats Not Part of Pre-Election Bloc

954F1170A Yerevan RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA in Russian 1 Feb 95 p 1

[Article by P.M.: "On the Eve of Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A press conference was held yesterday at the headquarters of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Armenia (Ramkavar Azatakan) in which party chairman Ruben Mirzakhanyan participated.

According to Mr. Mirzakhanyan, his party has not joined the bloc of seven parties. It has only participated in consultative conferences. After the pre-election bloc was created by these parties, the Liberal-Democrats decided not to join it. Responding to a question on the coming elections, Mirzakhanyan stated that it was still unknown how energetically the people would participate in them, and impossible to guess who would amass votes. In his opinion, the elections should be conducted by both party and majority-based lists. As far as the presence of foreign Armenians is concerned, Mirzakhanyan stated categorically that there are no such persons in his party, either in the leading organs or in the rank and file. With respect to AZGA editor A. Avetikyan: He has requested that his membership be temporarily suspended until the law on citizenship is adopted.

Media Leaders Protest Government Actions

954F1148B Yerevan VREMYA in Russian 28 Jan 95 p 1

[Article by Ashot Gareginyan: "Salvation of the Journalists—In the Hands of the Journalists Themselves?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is this that remains to them. This is what the leaders of the news media closed down by the authorities following the edict of the president of the Republic of Armenia entitled "Temporary Suspension of the Activity on the Territory of the Republic of Armenia of the Dashnaktsutyun Party" believe, having met with colleagues from other publications who are still working during a news conference in Armenia's Journalists' House. According to them, unless journalists stop putting their hopes in kindly uncles, unless they come to the conclusion that no one in this state is about to defend them, and unless they unite, nothing good is to be expected. The clearest example of the anarchy perpetrated by the authorities, in the opinion of the "expellees," may be considered the smashing, in the literal meaning of the word, of their editorial rooms and offices, which was undertaken immediately following and in execution of the presidential edict. Although, as Bagrat Sadoyan, leader of the Aylur agency, emphasized, the edict does not say a word about confiscation of their property. "Nonetheless," he observed, "this was done. And what is more, not, primarily, in the form of a legal search, they removed all that was in the least bit valuable, showing here neither a prosecutor's warrant or other necessary papers. Our agency alone sustained material loss totaling $47,300."

"The presidential edict is aimed against democracy and freedom of the press," Gamlet Davlyan, editor of the newspaper YERKIR, declared. "The purpose of this step is obvious—to stop the mouths of those to whom it objects. The official reason given for this is the fact that the activity of the ARFD [Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutyun] should be terminated in all its manifestations, in the form of the mass media included. But also among the newspapers that have been closed down are those that have nothing to do with the Dashnaktsutyun. On the other hand, the editor's membership of the ARFD, which is considered a great sin also, by no means signifies the narrow party focus of the newspaper that he heads. Nor, incidentally, is YERKIR confined to a party framework. No, we shall not accustom ourselves to persecution or threats."

... "Gima tertere birikh en pagum," [?Now the papers are shutting down] [phrase in Armenian] a well-known businessman once put it, commenting on the current situation. Truly, there has been a marked thinning of the ranks

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of the Armenian news media since the edict of 28 December. The newspapers YERKIR, AZATAMART (with a Russian edition), ANDRADARTS, ARAGAST—the weekly of the Republic Women's Committee—and MARZASHKHAR, the journal NORK, the organ of the Armenian Writers Union, the Aylur Press Agency, which had 43 local and overseas subscribers, the Gorizont Television Company, and the supplements ASPAR, VARUZHAN, and MYATK have been closed, as has the Mikael Varandyan Printers. Deprived of printing and publishing facilities, the employees of these publications have also lost their jobs—more than 100 journalists have found themselves in this situation, and the most active here were the ones that were blacklisted, evidently, according to B. Sadoyan. The "expellees" are unwilling to yield. They sent a letter to the prosecutor of the Republic of Armenia asking for the return of the office equipment and other assets that were removed, but there has been no response as yet, and, according to Mger Davoyan, editor of MUNETIKA, "It is unlikely that we will see one." The sponsors of the news conference are linking their main hopes, therefore, with journalistic solidarity and also with assistance on the part of international civil rights organizations. The creation of at least some opposition will, in their opinion, prevent further lawlessness.

The news conference culminated in the collection of signatures beneath one further appeal to the general prosecutor. The participants in the meeting (the majority, in any event) appended their signatures to a request for a revision of the detaining order against the well-known writer and journalist Roland Sharoyan, editor of the newspaper MARZASHKHAR, who is being held in solitary for investigation by the Main Administration for National Security without having been charged with anything.

Azerbaijan

Muslim Leader Appeals to Yeltsin, Orthodox Head on Chechnya

NC0402212595 Baku TURAN in English 1416 GMT 4 Feb 95

["Head of the Caucasus Muslims Condemns the Policy of Genocide Towards the People of Caucasus Conducted by Leaders of Russia"—TURAN headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, February 4 (TURAN)—"Now is a holy month of Ramadan for all the Muslim of the world—the month of the Muslim's fasting. And now when the prayers should be heard in all the Muslim's cities, the sounds of tanks can be heard in Groznyy, the mosques are destroyed and there are a lot of innocent sacrifices," stated at today's press-conference in Baku Head of the High Religious Council of the People of Caucasus (HRCPC) Haji Allahshukur Pashazade.

He noted that not only as the Head of the Muslims of Caucasus, but also as a Head of the Religious Council of the People of Caucasus he could not keep silence at such a moment. He stated that [he] opposes the policy of crime certain circles of Russia who wanted to solve all the problems in Chechnya in military way. "I declare my protest to the Russian Government," stressed he.

He said that addressed to the General Secretary OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] Hamid al-Ghabid, to the President of Russia Boris Yeltsin and to the Patriarch of Moscow and the Russia Aleksey II.

"I appeal to you in the moment which is very dangerous for the people of Chechnya and which is a threat to the Islamic world in the whole. The actions of Russia, which tries to prevent the freedom loving endeavours of the Chechen people witness that this country, despite the oral statements, did not refused from the empire ambitions, from the policy of genocide towards the people of the Caucasus," reads a statement addressed to the Hamid al-Ghabid. [sentence as received]

On behalf of the Muslims of Caucasus Pashazade asked the General Secretary of OIC to use his authority and influence that the OIC expressed solidarity with the Chechens people fighting for the right to live in their native lands.

The appeal addressed to the President Yeltsin asks to demonstrate the humanism and wisdom. "Today a lot depends on your position Mr. President, the fate of the war and peace on the Caucasus, the future not only of our region, but the future of Russia herself also depends on your position," reads the appeal. Pashazade appealed [to] Yeltsin to solve the conflict in Chechnya peacefully. During the press-conference Pashazade noted that he appealed to Aleksey II the third time. "The events taking place in Chechnya presently are accepted with great horror and there is not any reason able to approve that brutality, which does not coincide with the divine destination of a man," notes the appeal to Aleksey II.

Pashazade noted that his appeal witnessed the respectability and confidence to Aleksey II of the million of people of Caucasus of different nationalities and religion. "People consider just you to be the only men able to conduct of saving mission in the Caucasus which is in blood presently," notes the appeal.

He told the journalists that was going together with the Aleksey II to visit the region and to stand between the warring parties. " Even if we die there, our death should be assessed as the triumph of life. As a Head of the Religious Council I am ready to die there for the sake of restoration of peace and for the life of thousands of people," noted Pashazade.

He said that the continuation of war in Chechnya could bring about the Third World War. He expressed a concern that certain forces try to give to the conflict the religious colouring. "It is not a war between the Muslims and the Christians, but a reflection of the empire ambitions the unwillingness of some certain circles in Russia to refuse from the military confrontation with Chechnya," said he.

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He said that [he] had a contacts with the representatives of Chechnya and he knows well Dudayev. "I know that Dudayev will not stop fighting if they will speak with him from the positions of force and the threat." According to him they can capture Groznyy but will not be able to break the will of the Chechens people. He said that Chechnya was ready to cease fire. Under the conditions when the whole people are under the treat of the genocide the world community have to say its word, believes Pashazade.

Leading Western Oil Companies Arrive in Baku

NC0302203995 Baku TURAN in English 1305 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (February 3) TURAN—Since early February representatives from the oil companies Shell, Exxon, Mobil, Elf and AGIP arrived in Baku for participation in the tender for the part of the Azeri share in the oil consortium on the development of the Azeri, Chirag and Guneshli. This share must total from 5 to 15 per cent.

At the same time these companies intend to take part at the tender for the development of the developed part of the Guneshli oil-field, which Azerbaijan is unable to develop alone, due to financial and technical difficulties.

The credible source from SOCAR [State Oil Company of Azerbaijan] told Turan that all companies pretending to the Azeri share are subjected to a condition - they must finance SOCAR's share in the consortium.

"They accepted this term", the same source reported. The possibility of giving Shell company 17 per cent of the share of SOCAR is excluded since this fact can lead to the break-up of the consortium. It has been agreed upon that SOCAR will not give other companies the share exceeding the share of AMOCO and BP.

In any case SOCAR will preserve 5-10 per cent share in the project. The negotiations about financing of the Azeri share by the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development are conducted. The following variants are considered: SOCAR will assign of right to security to the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development [WBRD], which will be returned to Azerbaijan after repayment of the credit and interest money as well as selling of the part of the Azeri share to the WBRD in exchange for its financing.

Addressing to the issue on assignment of 5 per cent of SOCAR's share to Iran, the source reports that this issue is yet to be settled by the members of the consortium and in 90 days SOCAR must receive reply from them. The members of the consortium agreed to prolong the term for SOCAR to present its guarantees on financing of its share until February 9.

Touching upon Washington's negative reaction on Iran's participation in the Azeri consortium, the source reported that the American oil companies are not strictly depend on their Government and it is difficult to forecast their regard for Iran's participation in the consortium.

Currently consultations are conducted with the delegation of Iran's National Oil company at the head of the Vice-Premier, Sa'id Hoseyni. The details of the agreement on assignment of 5 per cent of the Azeri share signed with Iran are clarified during the current talks.

Aliyev Meets With Exxon President

NC0402213795 Baku TURAN in English 1416 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, February 4 (TURAN)—Today the president of Azerbaijan Geydar Aliyev met with the president of "Exxon" oil company Terry Cunu and the vice-president of that company Tim Sayk. "We are aware that you want to co-operate with us, you are interested, in particular, in the share of Azerbaijan in the oil contract with the Western oil consortium," said Geydar Aliyev during the meeting. Aliyev noted that the other leading companies were also interested in the same issues and said: "Azerbaijan is ready to discuss the perspectives of mutually beneficial co-operation." According to him "this co-operation can be long-term, as beside the oil fields on the development of which the contract has been signed, there also a lot of other offshore oil fields."

Geydar Aliyev expressed a hope that a long-term economic co- operation will positively affect the development of the relations between the U.S. and the Azerbaijan republic. Mr. Terry Cunu ensured the President Aliyev that "Exxon" relies upon a long-term co-operation with Azerbaijan. "We consider that Azerbaijan is very suitable place for the business," noted the president of "Exxon."

'Priority' Given to Oil Route Through Turkey

TA0302161195 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1445 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, Feb 3 (A.A)—Azeri Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov said Baku always wanted the pipeline to carry Caspian Sea oil to international markets to pass through Turkey.

Gasanov told AA that they gave priority to Turkey route before U.S. support to Tengiz oil fields-Ceyhan pipeline project.

"This was certain for us since the beginning. Now the important thing is that from which country the pipeline will pass to Turkey," he said.

Pointing out that the pipeline should pass through Iran, Armenia, or Georgia, Gasanov said the decision could be given after talks, taking into account every single detail.

Gasanov said the final decision would be given by the Western led consortium, citing all three options have their own positive and negative elements.

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Azeri foreign minister said he is in favor of increasing Turkey's share in the consortium. An agreement on this can be provided in the continuing talks between SOCAR [State Oil Company of Azerbaijan] firm and the Turkish oil establishment TPAO [Turkish Petroleum Corporation], he added.

Concerning the Azeri-Armenian conflict, Gasanov urged 30 percent of international peace-keeping force which was proposed at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OCSE) summit in Budapest consist of Turkish soldiers.

Gasanov said they expected Turkey to be more active on this matter.

Aliyev Meets With French Foreign Ministry Official

NC0402204295 Baku TURAN in English 1250 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, February 4 (TURAN)—Today President Geydar Aliyev met with the Secretary General of Foreign Ministry of France Bertrand Dufourcq, who is in Baku.

The parties expressed a hope that this meeting would give impulse for the further development of bilateral relations and would promote the implementation of the agreement on the cooperation between France and Azerbaijan, obtained early in 1994 during a visit of Geydar Aliyev to Paris.

Bertrand Dufourcq said that France supported soon settling of the Armenian-Azeri conflict under the condition of maintenance of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. Geydar Aliyev expressed gratitude for this principal position of France.

Aliyev noted a great role of France in the system of European Security. A firm position of France at the Budapest Summit had a significant meaning for the strengthening of this security," said he. [no begin quotation marks, as received]

The president briefed Mr. Dufourcq on the situation in Azerbaijan and said that Baku supported peaceful solution of the Armenian-Azeri conflict. He also told about the results of the visit to the region of the OSCE's delegation headed by the co-chairmen of the Minsk conference.

Aliyev said that during the stay of the Minsk group in the republic he made a statement that Azerbaijan would follow the ceasefire regime till the moment of signing the Major Political Agreement. According to Aliyev the principal issues for today are still the problem of Shusha and Lachin. "Till the solution of the issue on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh the Armenian armed forces must be withdrawn first from Lachin and later from Shusha," noted Aliyev.

Geydar Aliyev called France, as a member of the Minsk group of OSCE to promote actively to soon (?solution) [remainder of item not received]

Aliyev on Armenia Talks Which Resume Today in Moscow

LD0602091795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0756 GMT 6 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdulayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku February 6 TASS—Talks on the preparation of "the big political agreement" between Azerbaijan and Armenia are due to resume in Moscow today on the initiative of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe and with the consent of the conflicting sides.

"We must be more active in concentrating on the main aspects of the settlement of the conflict (with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh," says President Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan.

These main aspects, in his opinion, include work on the general political agreement on the settlement and the formation of international peacekeeping forces for the purpose within the framework of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

President Geydar Aliyev said he was satisfied with the fact that President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia shared this approach to the solution of the complex problem facing the two countries.

Aliyev made this clear during last week's tour of the region and visit to Baku by Anders Bjorner and Vladimir Kazimirov, high officials of the OSCE's Minsk Conference for Nagorno-Karabakh.

As concerns the exchange of hostages and POWs, as well as of information about MIA's, the president of Azerbaijan believes that these are problems "both easy to solve and, at the same time, unsolvable at present". One stumbling block is that there is no mechanism of equitable exchange, Aliyev explained. While Azerbaijan detains only 16 Armenians, the other side holds about one thousand Azers. "Of course we can give back to Armenia its 16 citizens, but the question remains about how many Azers it will continue to hold prisoner." Aliyev proposed that the two countries act fairly by exchanging "all for all".

Certain progress has been made in the settlement of the Azeri-Armenian conflict, but the mediators in the negotiations are now facing tasks that are far from easy to accomplish, Swedish diplomat Anders Bjorner declared in Baku. He told journalists that in the course of negotiations and meetings in Yerevan and Nagorno-Karabakh, the OSCE officials for the first time raised the question about the liberation of the Azeri cities of Shusha and Lachin.

The Swedish diplomat noted that he met with understanding on both sides as far as the consolidation of ceasefire was concerned. As is known, the ceasefire between Azerbaijan and Armenia has been in effect for almost nine months. According to Bjorner, Armenia does not object to mounting a peacekeeping operation under the OSCE aegis in the conflict zone.

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The most important thing at this points is to guide the truce in the conflict zone towards a complete political settlement with a minimal risk, said Vladimir Kazimirov after meeting Azerbaijan's president. In this context, he stressed, both the Minsk Conference and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe as a whole welcome the statements of both sides which stressed the importance of keeping the process going up to the signing of the big political agreement.

As concerns the exchange of hostages and prisoners-of-war, which he characterised as a problem of humanitarian nature from the human rights field, Kazimirov proposed enlisting the cooperation of Armenian and Azeri charitable and other public organisations, as well as analogous international organisations, to solve it.

Kazimirov Discusses Minsk Team's Activities

NC0302141795 Baku TURAN in English 0821 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (February 3) TURAN—"The Swedish and Russian co-Chairmen of the OSCE Minsk Conference realize that the problem concerning Shusha and Lachin is one of the most difficult in the settlement of the conflict", the Minister Counselor of Russian President, Vladimir Kazimirov, told TURAN's correspondent.

This problem is also closely connected with the problem of the political and legal status of Nagorno-Karabakh, Kazimirov says. He considers that "the issue on Shusha is more connected with the status of Nagorno-Karabakh than Lachin's problem".

He mentioned that the OSCE mission has concrete proposals on Shusha and Lachin and currently it explores the ground in Baku and Yerevan. "At first, we presented our project to the Azeri leadership, as the party most sensitive to this problem", Russian mediator said. After consultations in Baku, the project will be presented to the Armenian party. Kazimirov said that "he cannot reveal the essence of the proposals until their officialization".

Touching upon Azerbaijan's position to the necessity of the unconditional withdrawal of the Armenian troops from Shusha and Lachin, Vladimir Kazimirov said that the settlement of the Shusha problem will depend on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh. "It is impossible to disengaged oneself from the status of Nagorno Karabakh to settle the Shusha problem", he mentioned.

Kazimirov says that in exchange for Azerbaijan's demands to liberate Shusha and Lachin, the Armenian party demands that Azerbaijan should liberate the mountainous region of the Geranboy region of the republic (former Shaumyan region).

Speaking with TURAN's correspondent, Vladimir Kazimirov called the Geranboy region Shaumyan region, as Armenians call it, by the name of Lenin's supporter, Bolshevik Stepan Shaumyan.

Kazimirov also mentioned that this issue is not of primary importance, it comes after the Shusha and Lachin issue.

It should be noticed that recently before the visit of the OSCE mission to the region, Armenian troops resumed military activities on the northern section of the front in the direction to the Geranboy region. The Azeri military sources report that the Armenian Command planned to launch a large-scale offense on the Geranboy region on January 18-25, but the operation was postponed.

As far as the peace-keeping forces are concerned, Kazimirov mentioned that for the beginning of the OSCE peace-keeping operation we need the agreement of the warring parties and their official apply for conduction of the operation. Kazimirov says that someone tries to go ahead and it looks like all the issues are settled and the peace-keeping forces must be called to the region. "It is still far to the peace-keeping operation". He says that for a long time the parties will carefully coordinate their positions concerning the staff of military contingent, place of their location and terms of functioning. However, it is impossible to find common opinion in these issues without compromises, Kazimirov considers.

Gasanov Interviewed on Minsk Group Delegation's Visit

NC0402201895 Yerevan SNARK in English 1135 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (SNARK-TURAN) [Dateline as received]—"During the first after Budapest summit meeting with OSCE mission, negotiation on its decisions realization was on the agenda", - Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan, Gasan Gasanov said in his interview with TURAN reporter.

According to the minister, an agreement is reached on resumption of political talks on the level of Foreign Deputy Ministers or Foreign Policy State Advisors in the nearest future in Moscow. Gasanov mentioned that the talks will be conducted with Russian-Swedish mediation.

He also said that issue on OSCE peace-keeping forces formation was discussed during the meeting with OSCE Minsk group in Baku.

In his opinion, this process is going rather well, and talks with all countries of Minsk group are being conducted. "I think there will be no delay in this matter", noted the minister. Meanwhile, Gasan Gasanov has stressed that peace-keeping operation may start only when the political agreement on conflict complete settlement is signed.

The minister also noted that a problem with Lachin and Shusha was in a focus of attention during the meeting. "Today we are seeking proper formula, so it is impossible to report details on this matter", concluded Gasanov.

Minsk Team Departs From Baku

NC0302140895 Baku TURAN in English 0821 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (February 3) TURAN—Last evening two-day talks among the co-Chairmen of the

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Minsk Conference, Anders Bjorner and Vladimir Kazimirov, and the Azeri leadership came to an end and the Minsk Group departed from Baku.

As was earlier reported, the measures for further strengthening of the cease-fire regime and humanitarian issues (exchange of POW's and hostages) have been discussed during the talks. The Azeri leadership was forwarded the proposals concerning the settlement of the issue on Shusha and Lachin cities.

As it has been agreed upon, discussion of these issues will be continued next week in Moscow during the Azerbaijani-Armenian talks between the personal representatives of both Presidents. These talks will be conducted through the mediation of Anders Bjorner and Vladimir Kazimirov.

Meanwhile, yesterday the Russian delegation left Baku for Moscow and the remaining part of the OSCE mission left right for Vienna.

Mutalibov Assesses Aliyev, Caucasus Unrest

954F1160A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, Feb 95 p 7

[Interview with Ayaz Mutalibov by Dmitriy Makarov; place and date not given: "Azerbaijan on the Eve of Changes?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Will the war in Chechnya continue local in nature or will it in time grab new regions? This is a question that is currently tormenting political scientists the world over. There is reason to believe that it could stimulate opposition forces in the republics of the Transcaucasus. These processes are already "off and running" in Azerbaijan. Dmitriy Makarov, correspondent of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, talks about this with Ayaz Mutalibov, first president of Azerbaijan, and Stanislav Tarasov, a Russian orientalist and general director of the Eurasia Russo-American press agency, who agreed to comment on certain problems broached in the interview.**

[Makarov] Ayaz Niyazovich, you are considered the leader of Azerbaijan's opposition. What are your chances of returning to power if the present president, Geydar Aliyev, is now, it would seem, firmly in the saddle: It will soon be a year since there has been no war in Nagornyy Karabakh and the "contract of the century" for the production of oil, which is to bring the country in many billions of dollars, has been concluded with Western companies, and Aliyev's closest competitor in the struggle for power, former Premier Suret Guseynov, has been living in Moscow since October 1994?

[Mutalibov] This lull is deceptive. In order to demonstrate to the outside world the stability that allegedly reigns in Azerbaijan, necessary for implementation of the oil contract, Aliyev is suppressing all dissidence in the country. All the news media are most strictly censored. The newspapers appear with gaps, and television is completely monopolized by Aliyev, who is never off the screen from morning until night, like Brezhnev used to be. Discontent with the regime has been driven inward, and this is particularly dangerous in view of the sharp fall in society's living standard, which has been a direct result of the severance of economic relations with Russia.

[Makarov] Nonetheless, the long war with Armenia is finally over.

[Mutalibov] I would acknowledge Aliyev's contributions to the establishment of peace had he succeeded in getting back the land that is under occupation. This amounts to seven districts or 20 percent of Azerbaijani territory. But what Aliyev has achieved is not peace but surrender. Karabakh has de facto acquired independence. Presidential elections were held there recently. The corridor linking Karabakh with Armenia is open, and there are relations with the outside world, why should the Armenians go on fighting?

[Makarov] But the war in Karabakh began under your rule.

[Mutalibov] Yes, but Azerbaijan was at that time part of the USSR, and the conflict should have been extinguished by President Gorbachev with the aid of Soviet troops. But this he did not do. All the problems concerning separatism in the republics of the former USSR began with Karabakh. I was blamed for the surrender of three villages in Karabakh and the execution by Armenian fighters of peaceful inhabitants in the village of Khodzhaly. But the tragedy of Khodzhaly has been repeated dozens of times since this. Azerbaijan has more than 1 million refugees, and all these are the "contributions" of my successors Elchibey and Aliyev.

[Makarov] Does your criticism of Aliyev mean that you intend to seek power in Azerbaijan once again?

[Mutalibov] I have a composed and guarded attitude toward power. An unbridled struggle for it promises the people only misfortunes. I demonstrated my attitude toward power in May 1992, when I voluntarily submitted my resignation as president. But, on the other hand, I cannot look on calmly as the present totalitarian regime demoralizes the people with corruption, clan favoritism, and soullessness.

Therefore, I can no longer remain aloof. This by no means signifies that I am about to restore to myself the presidency, which I should by law have held until 1996, with the aid of a military coup or outside interference. I shall return only peacefully, if the people of Azerbaijan request this.

[Makarov] How have the Chechen events influenced Azerbaijan?

[Mutalibov] As far as I know, the economic problems have increased as a result of the blockade of Chechnya and the closure of the railroad linking the North Caucasus with the Transcaucasus.

Orientalist's comment. The question arises as to why Russia has closed the borders with Azerbaijan even more tightly than with Georgia. There is direct information that

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the territory of Azerbaijan is being used as a transshipment point for the delivery of arms and mercenaries to Chechnya.

It is no accident that in blockading Groznyy, Russian troops are leaving the southern direction open. To what end? This will subsequently create a mass of difficulties when fighting an anti- guerrilla war. But the command of the Russian forces is evidently doing this deliberately. Fighters from Chechnya are along the southern corridor crossing through the territory of Georgia to Derbent and thence to Northern Azerbaijan.

[Makarov] Why, in your opinion, is Geydar Aliyev, having returned Azerbaijan to the bosom of the CIS and having signed the document on the national security of the countries of the CIS, not allowing Russian border guards to guard the Iran-Azerbaijan border together with Azerbaijani border guards?

[Mutalibov] Because Aliyev has a strategic interest in this border being open. Azerbaijan's deputy minister of national security was in Moscow recently and he declared that we are controlling the border. This is a lie. The border is open for the shipment of weapons and narcotics from Iran to Azerbaijan and further north.

[Makarov] What part does oil play in the present development of the situation in the Caucasus?

[Mutalibov] It is simply impossible to exaggerate its influence. When signing the "contract of the century" last September, Aliyev insisted that the oil that is produced must go by pipeline via Iran and Turkey. As soon as Russia demanded that the oil go by the territory of Russia, by the existing pipeline via Groznyy to Novorossiysk, Turkey immediately began to find fault with the procedures of Russian tankers' passage through the straits.

[Makarov] So for the oil to pass through Russia it is necessary first to bring order to bear in Chechnya?

[Mutalibov] If this does not happen and the instability in the North Caucasus continues, this will serve as sufficient grounds for the oil consortium to run a new oil pipeline across Iran or Turkey. And this means that Russia would lose control over the Transcaucasus completely.

Orientalist's comment. Aside from all else, the war in Chechnya is, truly, essential to Russia for the preservation of its influence in the Transcaucasus and control over Caspian oil, of which it would be deprived were the "contract of the century" to come to be realized in the form in which it was signed by Geydar Aliyev. Whence it may with a great deal of confidence be assumed that this spring even the situation in the Transcaucasus, primarily in Azerbaijan, will have been seriously destabilized. If oil from Azerbaijan goes to the West via Iran and Turkey along a newly built pipeline, all of Central Asia would subsequently be plugged into it via Turkmenia, and it would then be possible to talk about a new association of the Turkic-speaking world—the second since the times of Genghis Khan.

Considering the participation of most important European and American monopolies in the development of Caspian oil, it may be said that the West also has an interest in the ouster of Russia from the Transcaucasus.

With the collapse of the USSR a tacit redivision of spheres of influence in the world began, and the events in Chechnya are nothing other than Russia's belated reaction to this redivision. The Russian leadership's long indifference to what is happening outside of the borders of the Russian Federation led to the redivision taking place without its participation.

[Makarov] That is, everyone has an interest in the preservation of the Geydar Aliyev regime except Russia?

[Mutalibov] Turkish, American, Iranian, and Jordanian special services are showing their hand in Azerbaijan at this time. Baku has in this sense become a second Beirut. These services are buying and outbidding ministers and other top officials and deputies, and everyone knows this. Granted all the diversity of interests, the purpose is the same: to preserve the present regime and to prevent the restoration of relations with Russia, which are of vital importance to Azerbaijan.

After all, how does the average Azerbaijani family live today? By a member of the family traveling to Russia to make a little money. Up to 1 million Azerbaijanis, who periodically send money home, are permanent residents here. This is one-seventh of the population of the republic. Neither Turkey nor Iran can economically represent an alternative to Russia in the foreseeable future. This is why I openly advocate the restoration of a strong union between Azerbaijan and Russia.

[Makarov] But Iran includes, for all that, southern Azerbaijan, where three times more Azerbaijanis live than in Azerbaijan itself. Both the Persians and the Azerbaijanis are Shi'ite Muslims. Is there not an aspiration to unification?

[Mutalibov] It is very unlikely. We have over many decades moved far apart from each other. We essentially live in different civilizations. Were the shah still ruling in Iran, he would undoubtedly be attracting the affections of our people. Because the shah took the path of the Europeanization of Iran. But now, since the Islamic revolution, Iran has become too deeply immersed in the mire of religion, even at the domestic level, which holds little attraction for my compatriots. Turkey, although a secular state, is still very poor. There is no place for Azerbaijanis there, the Turks themselves are now looking for work in Russia.

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[Makarov] Nonetheless, when you say that Azerbaijan is on the threshold of civil war, this is hard to believe. Your republic was always all-too prosperous.

[Mutalibov] Nonetheless, this is the case. Today the economic devastation is evident at every step. The assistance of $1.5 billion promised by the oil consortium has yet to arrive, and it hardly will owing to the uncertainties concerning the contract and in connection with the instability in the Transcaucasus. Clan favoritism and corruption have split society. Nakhichevanis—fellow countrymen of Geydar Aliyev—hold some significant position everywhere. The other regions are reacting painfully to this. This is the main prerequisite of civil war.

It gets to be absurd: Last October, when there was a pseudoattempt at a coup in Azerbaijan, only people with ID's showing a Nakhichevan residence permit were admitted to a demonstration in Baku in support of Aliyev. Aliyev is deliberately stoking bitterness among the Karabakhers who have lost their land and who are now living in Baku and in its surrounds. The population of the capital is essentially divided among different area associations, and a conflict, in which all regions of the republic would join immediately, could flare up between them at any moment.

[Makarov] That is, there would be a repeat of the "Tajik scenario"?

[Mutalibov] It is perfectly probable. Everything currently starts and ends, so to speak, with Aliyev, who is still managing to extinguish the conflicts, but everyone understands that he will go sooner or later, and then the explosion could occur.

Orientalist's comment. The present situation in Azerbaijan is not unique. After the October Revolution, Azerbaijan fell apart into individual tiny states. In 1920 the central Musavat government controlled only the Baku region. There existed simultaneously the Arak Republic and the Nakhichevan and Lenkoran republics. Georgia and Armenia were split in just the same way. But there was a common economic space, which was subsequently united by the common ideology of Bolshevism, and the Transcaucasus Federation eventuated.

Now the moment when the idea of the Transcaucasus Federation uniting Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan should be revived once again is approaching. **First,** the restoration of relations between individual parts of the once-united economic region would help eliminate the havoc that currently reigns in the Transcaucasus. **Second,** the reconstitution of the federation would help resolve the territorial disputes essentially lacerating all three republics. **Third,** a Transcaucasus Federation could better confront aggression from outside. But, in any case, the Transcaucasus has to have the restoration of close ties to Russia.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Welcomes Nazarbayev Proposal on CIS

LD0302134395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI, Feb 3 (Interfax)—The Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze welcomed the initiative of the Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who called for discussing the possibility of signing a memorandum designed to strengthen peace and accord between CIS members at the CIS summit to be held in Almaty on February 10. This was announced in a communique released by the Georgian leader's press secretary in Tbilisi Friday [3 February].

However, the communique says, Shevardnadze thinks it necessary to deepen the memorandum by reflecting in it that the CIS countries are "unanimous in condemning any expression of separatism and attempts to violate their territorial integrity."

"The principled attitude of the heads of state to aggressive separatism will become a major guarantee of stability and progress in the entire CIS area," the communique says.

Food Shortages Blamed on Russian Blockade

LD0402151895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1338 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SUKHUMI, February 4 (Interfax)—Owing to the Russian blockade, Abkhazia has exhausted all its reserves, including its reserve stocks of grain, Abkhazian Prime Minister Gennadiy Gagulia told Interfax Saturday [4 February].

Gagulia sees the situation an "critical". He says that "no bread was baked for straight ten days" and that "the Russian-speaking city dwellers, who used to get, daily, 6,500 free loaves of bread, are the first to suffer from it."

Moscow suspended its deliveries to Abkhaziaa in the fall of 1993 when the Abkhazian army attacked Georgian-controled Sukhumi. Somewhat later it resumed the delivery of electricity to Abkhazia and eased customs regulations on the Russian- Abkhazian border which, nonetheless, came to be fully closed with the eruption of the Chechen conflict. Moscow feared that Abkhaz volunteers would hurry up to help the Dudayev forces.

Tbilisi Wants 'Unconditional' Return of Abkhaz Refugees

LD0402151595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1338 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI, February 4 (Interfax)—On February 8 the Georgian delegation to the Geneva-based Georgian-Abkhazian negotiations will

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insist on the unconditional repatriation of all the Abkhazian refugees, chief Georgian negotiator Djaba Ioseliani said in a televized appearance on the national television Friday [3 February].

If the repatriation is not completed by May 16, Ioseliani said, the Russian peacekeepers will have to leave Abkhazia and "it will be our own business to settle our own problems."

The Georgian delegation will also insist on the realization of all the treaties and agreements on Abkhazia.

New agreements will make no sense, if no respect is shown to the old ones, Ioseliani said.

According to Ioseliani, Tbilisi prepared a draft document on the political status of Abkhazia under which Abkhazia is to enjoy all rights in unitary Georgia.

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Estonia

Meri 'Welcomes' Eastward Expansion of NATO

LD0502190695 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri welcomes the support of the leading politicians of the NATO states to the eastward expansion of NATO. The president's letter to the 32d security conference of NATO states in Munich says that there should be no regions of reduced security in Europe.

Meri thinks that the security of different areas must not depend on their geographic location. He said the criteria for being accepted into NATO must be the same for all European states. Meri indicates that Estonia has nothing against the Visegrad states being mentioned before the Baltic states but warns against the wrong impression—that the West could have a lesser interest in security of other regions.

Meri thinks that Europe's democracy and security area should be continually expanded and Estonia should also be included in it. President Meri states that such a step would not endanger anyone and would not be directed against anyone, the presidential press service reports.

Importance of Tartu Peace Treaty Viewed

LD0302171395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1536 GMT 3 Feb 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TALLINN, Feb 3 (Interfax)—The chairman of the Estonian parliamentary commission for international affairs, Vello Saatpalu of the Moderate Party, believes that "something should be done" to article 122 of the Estonian Constitution. The disputed article envisions that Estonia's border with Russia is to be established according to the 1920 Tartu peace treaty.

"Including this nationalist-romantic article in the Constitution led to the emergence of a territorial dispute in the Russian-Estonian relations, like that in the Russian-Japanese relations," Saatpalu told a conference devoted to the 75th anniversary of the treaty in Tartu Thursday.

According to the treaty, parts of the Pskov and Leningrad regions were transferred under Estonia's jurisdiction. The lands were returned to Russia only after Estonia joined the former Soviet Union in 1940.

Saatpalu pointed to the need to remember that the "pre-war border had nothing in common with the ethnic one."

Addressing the conference, historian Ku'llo Arjakas of the Centrist Party called for using flexibility in the efforts to resolve the border dispute. He deplored the fact that Estonia wasted the time when corresponding negotiations with Russia could be held.

In the meantime National Assembly member Enn Tarto of the Right-Wingers' bloc stressed that Estonia must not make concessions in the border dispute by any means.

Linnart Ma'll of the Future Estonia party said that there is no democracy in Russia, and therefore Estonia should cooperate with Chuvashia, Chechnya and republics on the River Volga, not with Moscow.

All the speakers shared the view that the Treaty of Tartu laid foundations for Estonia's statehood.

Meanwhile Moscow proceeds from the assumption that the treaty was forfeited in 1940, when Estonia joined the former USSR.

Luik, Hungary's Kovacs Discuss Chechnya

LD0302190395 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Estonian Foreign Minister] Juri Luik has met with Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs in Zurich. Hungary currently chairs the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The foreign ministers discussed the situation in Chechnya. Both ministers expressed concern about the continually worsening situation there. Juri Luik explained Estonia's position on the Chechnya issue. The situation in Russia and possible development scenarios there were a subject of special discussion. They emphasized the need to continue contacts between the Estonian and Hungarian Foreign Ministries over this issue.

Foreign Ministry Details New Citizenship Law

LD0302174795 Tallinn ESTONIA TODAY in English 31 Jan 95 (tentative)

["Compiled by" Information Division, Press and Information Department, Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs—received via Internet on 2 February]

[FBIS Transcribed Text]

THE NEW CITIZENSHIP LAW

Article 9

Article 9 is a crucial new article in the yet unproclaimed Law on Citizenship which was passed on 19 January by the Riigikogu (Estonian Parliament). This article directly addresses several issues that are important for Estonia as it moves further away from the experience of the arbitrariness of Soviet Law to a democratic state based on the rule of law.

Article 9 lists the areas of the Estonian Constitution and Law on Citizenship that persons choosing Estonian citizenship through naturalisation need to know in order to defend their rights and fulfil their obligations as citizens under Estonian law.

How an applicant's knowledge will be tested will be defined by a Government decree after the law has been proclaimed. The nominated authority will have until 1

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April 1995, when the law is to come into force, to implement the required testing procedure.

THE NEED FOR THIS NEW PROVISION

Citizenship laws of all democratic countries provide law-based rights and obligations for every citizen under a country's jurisdiction as does Estonia. However, unlike most of these countries Estonia suffered the illegal imposition of a foreign Soviet law which was often arbitrarily applied with the result that the tradition of a democratic law-based state was suppressed.

With the restoration of independence Estonia's civil society now has the ability to ensure that the activities of the state and its residents is once again bound in a close relationship. Overcoming the legacy of the Soviet state's practice is crucial to the future development of Estonia. The new Citizenship law, as is the Law on Aliens which provide legal guarantees to non-citizens, is vital to addressing this concern.

1) ENSURING APPLICANTS KNOW THEIR RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS AS ESTONIAN CITIZENS

Knowledge of the basic rights and obligations as defined in Estonian law is in the interest of every one taking Estonian citizenship so that they can defend those rights and fulfil their obligations.

An understanding of the citizenship process as outlined in the Law on Citizenship also will ensure that people know that they have the right under this Law to challenge in court a decision to not grant citizenship (Article 36).

Further, as people understand their rights and obligation as citizens there is expected be a flow on effect to non-Estonian citizens as different members of Estonia's communities can advise others on the equal provisions for the protection of basic human rights for all citizens and non-citizens in Estonia.

2) THE INCREASING DEMANDS AND THE RELIANCE ON THE RULE OF LAW IN ESTONIAN SOCIETY

As Estonia's civil society re-emerges after 50 years of suppression, the demands for fairness and legality have increased. These demands are in direct contrast to the arbitrariness and abuse of the concept of law that dominated the Soviet Union's political system. Fostering the understanding that the Soviet Union's imposed policies are a thing of the past is, in itself, crucial to Estonia's return to be the moderately prosperous northern European state it was before the Soviet occupation.

Inclusion of Article 9 will help to ensure that people are aware of how the Estonian state functions and what are the basic means in which demands can be articulated. Such information on the operations of the state constitutional system is vital to the furthering of this trend of reliance on the rule of law.

Further, requiring people to have a basic knowledge of their rights and obligations as citizens is part of reinforcing this positive legal trend in the development of a democratic law-based state.

3) IMPARTING MEANING AND AVOIDING REDUNDANCY

Requiring people to swear an oath to be loyal to the constitutional state system of Estonia (Article 6:7) would be meaningless without some assurance that people taking the oath understood the basics of the state system.

The swearing of the oath is, thus, not made redundant as applicants will clearly understand what they are entering into in choosing to take Estonian citizenship. However, equally they do not have to choose Estonian citizenship.

4) SUPPORT FOR THE POLICY OF CHOICE OF CITIZENSHIP

Estonia has an active supportive policy of encouraging people to choose what citizenship they wish to hold. If people do not wish to hold Estonian citizenship they may choose to hold the citizenship of another country, as over 60,000 people have done. This right to choose the citizenship of their choice is also supported with practical legal provisions in several other laws.

The Law on Local Government Elections allows resident non-Estonian citizens to vote in local government elections. Local self governments are the main service providers and consistently directly affect all residents in Estonia.

For those choosing Estonian citizenship, the Estonian government provides Estonian language classes, with support from other foreign governments and international organisations, to ensure that citizenship applicants can meet the basic level of language knowledge required for citizenship.

The Law on Aliens ensures that people who cannot hold the passport of their country of origin due to the laws of another country are issued with Alien's passports. These recognised travel documents allow people to travel from and return to Estonia.

Also as a temporary supportive solution Estonia issues temporary travel documents to assist those who wish to travel, but have not yet received their travel documents from another state.

These provisions give practical support to free choice in choosing citizenship.

The Estonian Constitution guarantees the same fundamental rights to non-citizens and Estonian citizens alike (Article 9).

APPLICATION OF THE NEW PROVISION

The Law on Citizenship is not yet active and must first be proclaimed as law to be so. The application of Article 9 according to the law will be determined by an Estonian Government decree.

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Given that Estonia has passed and implemented the existing language requirements with a clearly defined approach it is expected that similar standards will also be adopted for the implementation of Article 9.

It is also expected that the test will be in accordance with the level of language knowledge that is required by Article 8.

For people born before 1 January 1930 Article 34 provides special exemptions from the written requirements of the language exam. This provision remains unchanged from the existing law.

The Law on Citizenship was passed before the coming parliamentary elections, because the existing reactivated 1938 Law on Citizenship did not conform to the Estonian constitution which was approved in a referendum in 1992.

NOTES

Information provided by the Russian Federation Embassy in Tallinn. Unlike other countries such as Ukraine and Belarus the Russian Federation has refused to supply further information on who are citizens of the Russian Federation in Estonia. This Law has not yet been proclaimed by the President and as such is not yet active. After Proclamation by the President, the Law it is to become active from 1 April 1995.

ARTICLE 9 OF THE LAW ON CITIZENSHIP (not yet proclaimed as law)

Requirements for and Assessment of Knowledge of the Constitution and the Law on Citizenship

(1) Any person who wishes to receive Estonian citizenship must have a knowledge of:

a) the general precepts of Estonia"s state system, as established in Chapters I and III of the Republic of Estonia Constitution;

b) the basic rights, freedoms and duties of all persons as established in Chapter II of the Republic of Estonia Constitution;

c) the authority of the Riigikogu, the President of the Republic, the Government of the Republic and the Courts as established in the Republic of Estonia Constitution;

d) the conditions and procedures for acquiring, receiving, restoring and losing Estonian citizenship in accordance with the Law on Citizenship.

(2) Knowledge of the Constitution and the Law on Citizenship shall be assessed through an examination, which shall be held in the Estonian language. Procedures for holding the examination shall be established by the Government of the Republic.

(3) A certificate shall be issued to all persons who successfully complete the examination.

Latvia

Ulmanis Invited to WWII Ceremonies in Moscow

LD0302174895 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] State President Guntis Ulmanis was visited at his residence today by the Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Rannikh. After talks about future relations between Russia and Latvia, Rannikh presented to Ulmanis a letter from Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

[Begin recording] [Ulmanis] The letter is brief, specific, an invitation to take part on 9 May in events commemorating the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. The motivation given is that participation in this event could demonstrate to the whole world our common striving for good neighborly relations on the continent of Europe. It could demonstrate and convince each of us that we remember the past, that we remember the millions of victims, and that we want to see a Europe that is peaceful, peace-loving, flourishing, united, not divided by old and new barriers. Probably I will also have meetings with leaders of other European countries, and I think that in the near future we will take a resolution as to how to take part in this event being organized in Moscow.

[Unidentified correspondent] In Latgale, the residents of Punduri have received threats, warnings that they will be turned out of their houses. Will this issue be discussed too?

[Ulmanis] That is a question that the government must talk about to the ambassador, and we have agreed that this issue must literally be settled urgently so that this conflict is (?taken off the agenda). [end recording]

[Announcer] We sought a response from a government spokesman to the conflict at Punduri, so here by telephone is a comment from Aivars Vovers, the Foreign Ministry's ambassador for special tasks:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Tell us, do you have new information at your disposal about this matter, relating to Punduri station?

[Vovers] The Foreign Ministry has been working on this, to find out everything possible about this matter. The Balvi district leaders, in making contact about it with the leaders of the district, cannot confirm these facts, although there are reports that such information has indeed been distributed to people. But the official Russian authorities deny such reports and deny having made written demands on the residents to leave these apartments. So far, then, these reports have not been confirmed. On the other hand, this problem has been under resolution for two or three years, and this problem exists, which both sides acknowledge.

[Correspondent] But these people are being given an ultimatum, to leave their apartments by 6 February.

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[Vovers] At the moment they should not react to unofficial announcements or warnings. [end recording]

Birkavs Upbeat on Prospects for EU Membership

LD0302201595 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Latvia has strengthened its position on the way to the European Union [EU], announced Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs on his return from the conference in France of the foreign ministers of Sweden, Denmark, and the Baltic countries. Speaking at the conference on the integration of the Baltic countries into Europe were the foreign ministers of those countries, as well as politicians from several countries. The conference took place with the support of the French Institute of International Relations, the Danish Political Science Association, and the Swedish Foreign Policy Institute. Valdis Birkavs added that many speakers in the debates said that if Baltic security were threatened, it is hardly likely that it will be preserved in other European countries.

Pantelejevs Comments on Council of Europe Session

LD0302173695 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Today the session of the European Parliamentary Assembly is continuing in Strasbourg, and the Latvian delegation is continuing to take part in the session, led by Andrejs Pantelejevs, who tells Latvian Radio about what issues have been discussed at the session, relating to the possible admission of Russia to the Council of Europe [CE].

[Begin Pantelejevs recording] [Word indistinct] at the debates ended the discussion of the matter of the procedure of admitting Russia, and in fact a resolution was adopted with the severest wording, that the admission of Russia is being put off because of the Chechnya conflict, and only by a resolution of the plenary session would it be possible to return to discussing the matter of admitting Russia. Such a result was even unexpected for the Russian delegation, as several amendments were rejected that were proposed by groups of deputies, including Communist deputies, trying to soften this resolution, for example by substituting for Chechnya the recognition of the Dudayev regime, or even allowing the discussion of Russia's admission to be undergone with a resolution of the plenary session, that is, by the bureaus, or the so-called Standing Committees. Even that was rejected. So a resolution was adopted which, de facto, means that it will not be possible at all this year to return to the matter of admitting Russia. This morning there was also a committee session, a joint session of the ministerial committee and the deputies—the so-called joint committee—which in fact talked about the five possible countries that this year could be considered on the list of candidates, and among these the Spanish representative Martinez, the leader of the parliamentary assembly session, did not mention Russia. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Russian Official Decries CE 'Double Standards'

WS0602123995 Tallinn BNS in English 1645 GMT 4 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Feb 04, BNS—Granting Latvia the status of full member in the Council of Europe [CE] is an indication that the council is applying double standards in its approach to different candidates for membership, said Alexander Udaltsev, chief official in charge of Baltic affairs at the Russian Foreign Ministry.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe this week approved Latvia as the council's full member.

Russia until the very last moment attempted to bar Latvia's way to membership, accusing the country of abuses against its Russian-speaking population.

Also Russia is seeking full membership in the Council of Europe. Moscow suffered a blow when the Parliamentary Assembly on Thursday ruled to suspend Russia's application due to the fighting in Chechnya.

Udaltsev said Russia was hoping that admission of Latvia to the Council of Europe prompts Riga to adopt a different attitude toward the country's Russian-speakers. He added that membership of the Council of Europe had failed to produce what he called "positive effect" in the case of Estonia. "On the contrary, the Estonian authorities after that felt they had their hands free," the Russian Foreign Ministry official complained, adding that many legislative acts then followed which Moscow says are making the life of Russian-speakers in Estonia more difficult.

Estonia is a member of the Council of Europe since spring 1993.

Problems at Kurdish Refugee Center Detailed

LD0302190595 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister of Internal Affairs Janis Adamsons, Tupesu Janis, minister of state for human rights, and Janis Davidovics, secretary of state at the Ministry of Defense, today visited the Krusta barracks and the Lilaste training center, which is due to be transformed into a camp for persons who are interred and have arrived illegally. The presence of Kurdish refugees at the Krusta barracks does not allow soldiers of the National Armed Forces to perform their service duties normally. Therefore the Ministry of Defense has resolved to hand the Lilaste training center over to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. During the Kurds' sojourn at the Krusta barracks, contagious diseases have spread, and two of the soldiers of the headquarters battalion have already caught diphtheria. Nor are the Kurds being adequately guarded—they are freely moving about inside the grounds without police supervision. The maintenance of the Kurds is being financed from the Ministry of Internal Affairs budget. Once every two days they are supplied

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with sugar, two boxes of (?condensed) milk, seven boxes of tinned fish in tomato sauce, and bread. Spokesmen for the battalion said that policemen of the mobile patrol who are guarding the site have not (?performed their duties) and are often in a drunken state. In conversation with a correspondent for the Baltic News Agency, Interior Minister Janis Adamsons related that one group out of the 149 refugees housed at the Latvian Defense Forces' Krusta barracks has already been deported from the country. However, the minister declined to give the precise number of deportees. He promised that the next time there are deportations here, he will invite all the television and press media. The deportation of another seven people who have identity documents is being prepared.

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